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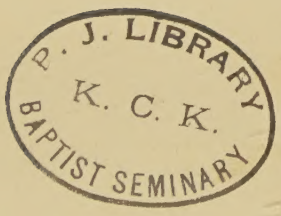

THE REDEMPTION OF AFRICA

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Vol. I

(THE) REDEMPTION OF AFRICA:

A STORY OF CIVILIZATION

WITH MAPS, STATISTICAL TABLES AND SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE LITERATURE OF AFRICAN MISSIONS

BY

FREDERIC PERRY NOBLE

SECRETARY OF THE CHICAGO CONGRESS ON AFRICA, COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, 1893

The lesson of the missionary is the enchanter's wand. — DARWIN.

The religious idea at the bottom of our civilization is the missionary idea. — W. T. HARRIS.

The first duty of a historian is never to venture a false statement: next, never to shrink from telling truth; so that his writings may be free from all suspicions of favor or malice. — LEO XIII.

VOLUME ONE

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TO

MY FATHER

IN THANKFULNESS FOR A FRIENDSHIP ENRICHING
LIFE BEYOND MEASURE
AND
IN REVERENCE FOR THE FATHERHOOD
THAT HAS BEEN A HUMAN INTERPRETER OF
DIVINE FATHERHOOD

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The author returns hearty thanks for the gift or loan of maps and pictures. He rests under special obligation to A. C. Armstrong and Son, New York City; Mrs. Sofia Bompiani, Rome, Italy, author of *Italian Explorations in Africa;* Cassell and Company, London and New York; T. Y. Crowell and Company, New York, N. Y.; Professor R. N. Cust, LL.D., London; the Reverend James S. Dennis, D.D., New York City; George H. Doran, Esq., Chicago, Ills.; R. W. Felkin, M.D., London; the Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York and London; Joseph C. Hartzell, D.D., Missionary-Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church for Africa; the Reverend Abraham Gosman, D.D., Lawrenceville, N. J.; Mr and Mrs Emil Holub, Ph.D., Prague, Bohemia; Messieurs Jaques and Boegner of the Evangelical Society at Paris; the Reverend Doctor A. L. Phillips, St Louis, Mo.; the Rand and McNally Company, Chicago; Joseph E. Roy, D.D., Chicago; Mrs Sheppard, Hot Springs, Virginia; the Reverend James Stewart, D.D., M.D., Lovedale, Cape Colony; the Reverend Ross Taylor, New York City; and the United Presbyterian Board of Publication, Pittsburg, Penn.

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What in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raise and support;
That to the highth of this great argument
I may assert eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men.

Milton

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Our books are false by being fragmentary. Emerson

There is a place and to-day is the time for an account, compact yet comprehensive, of African missions. Eighteen hundred years have passed since their first beginnings. The ancient, medieval and modern missions are of such historic significance and (prior to 1868) stand in such perspective, that they enable those interested in Africa's development to forecast its religious future by interpreting its past. The lessons from missions indicate the conditions for Christianity's growth among Muhammadans and pagans. Moreover, during the last quarter-century our missionary-occupation of Africa has become so extensive and is so swiftly growing, that neither missionary-magazines nor mission-societies keep pace with its ramifications. No book tells of *all* Christianizing agencies among African peoples. The works of Robert Brown, Scott Keltie, Élisée Reclus and Silva White stand among classics on Africa; but Brown told the story of its thousand explorers, Keltie described the political partition, Reclus (whose monumental *Géographie Universelle* forever silenced the jest that "Frenchmen are men who wear mustaches and know no geography") made the scientific world debtor for a vast treasure-house of natural science in its African aspects and relations, and White wrote on Africa's evolution in its physical and utilitarian phases. Brown, declaring that "we must limit ourselves to features connected with

exploration", allotted only fifty-six of his twelve hundred pages to the chief mission-incidents, assigned twenty-two of these fifty-six pages to the Anglican and the Roman communion in U-Ganda, and merely mentioned enterprises of such moment as the American United Presbyterians in Egypt. Keltie in his five hundred pages allowed two pages to missions as factors in history, statesmanship and civilizing influence. Reclus, regarding Christianity from the standpoint of the Paris Commune, dismissed missions with several paragraphs in two thousand quarto pages. White, sketching missions in six of his three hundred and fifty pages, touched only those of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The case improves but slightly on turning to authors professedly religious. Such works as those of William Brown and of Choules belong to the infancy of evangelistic effort. The handbooks of Christlieb, George Smith, Seelye and Warneck and other men's manuals or primers of missions, though of value, are incomplete. Narratives of individual African undertakings abound. Histories of missions in a single country of the continent, in one of its grand divisions, or during an epoch are not wanting. Yet all are fragmentary, isolated, or out of date. The supporters of one mission-society think little about other societies. The Protestant and Roman communions undervalue, when they do not ignore, each sister-faith's achievement. No investigator, if one may infer from the exhaustive bibliographies of Brown, Day, Dennis, Jackson, Playfair and others, has attempted a catholic or universal history of the Christianization of Africa. Dr Cust published a monograph on its missions, but restricted himself to the functions of a catologuer and gazetteer, whose sphere is the nineteenth century in its ninth decade. "I", he wrote, "take no heed of past

events nor speculate on the future. Precise accuracy is impossible; the kaleidoscope is always forming fresh combinations. All islands are excluded. The work is regarded only in its civilizing influence for mundane objects . . . The point of view is that of civilization and culture . . . Every one acquainted with details will cry: 'Oh! how imperfect!' So it is. Even if perfect, it would not long remain so. There is no lack of lists of Protestant missions and of those of Rome; but will they ever be grouped by one who recognizes the excellencies and points out the shortcomings of both?* It is a *very* large subject and requires a *very* large heart. Let critics compile a better statement; I shall be satisfied . . . My object is to show in a subregion the locality in which some agency is at work . . . Woman's work is omitted . . . So of the invaluable services of medical men and societies, educationists and fraternities, industrial teachers, artificers, engineers and lay-brothers — I make no mention because detail of methods does not fall within my scope".

In November, 1891, (though the following passage was not found until December, 1896, when this preface, as first finished, was already six months old), *Regions Beyond* editorially said of Cust's *Africa Rediviva:* "The title led us to hope a graphic and comprehensive view of Africa's regeneration. This it does not give; one hundred and twenty pages could not. Africa is so large, its missions so numerous and the story so full of interest, that it would need a large volume to give even a sketch. It deserves a volume, for the modern campaign is well worthy to be chronicled as well as catalogued, being full of warning and encouragement. It is full also of striking contrasts to the campaign of the medieval church".

*Cust did these things.

Cyclopedic information about African missions is only less indispensable than a statesman's yearbook. Africa is the most interesting of continents. Africa is an inspiring continent. Christendom has brought Africa almost wholly into its sphere of influence. Its eye is fastened on Belgium and Kongo, Boer and Briton, Ethiopia and Italy, France with Madagascar, Sahara and Sûdan, Germany as a colonizer and Great Britain with the Cape and the Nile-mouths, the inland seas and the Niger countries and Ibea and Rhodesia; on the triumphs of civilization over nature and barbarism; and on the victories of Christianity over Islam and paganism. On beginning an African handbook in July, 1894 the present writer unexpectedly found himself forced to the conclusion, despite previous prepossessions, that the missionary is the mainspring of Africa's modern evolution, the creator of her future civilizations and the chief human hope for the betterment of her hapless people. He could not write the handbook unless and until he handled religion in Africa. Yet the piecemeal and unrelated character of missionary-literature, though in recent years there have been a remarkable growth of interest in missions and a hundredfold increase of investigators, hampered him. It independently occurred to the writer that the story of Christianity in Africa would prove helpful, and might form a fresh, positive contribution to church-history and scholarship.

In endeavoring to write history the author desired to contribute to genuine literature. As a class, books on missions are not works of literary art, do not belong to literature proper. Need this be? Must writings on the coming of God's kingdom consist simply of dry facts and drier statistics? Should enrichment of diction, style and theme be banned? Rather, ought not the subject to

render it imperative that the matter be made as interesting, picturesque and vivid as it is in the power of style to do? So thought, so written. So did Livingstone. He was master of a clear, idiomatic, simple style, sometimes poetic in its vivid pictures, often brightening into humor, sometimes deepening into pathos. His style, page by page, is admirable, its chief defect being want of perspective, a fault inevitable from the book's nature. Livingstone had no time to shape, plan, organize; the architectural talent could not be brought into play*. Such sanction, the present writer thinks, justifies his desire and endeavor. For his failure to reach the standard he craves indulgence. If, however, his be a "florid" style and treason to "the sober treatise on missions", only the Flecknoes and Shadwells of mission-literature will make the most of it.

The idea of the spirit and temper in which historical work should be prosecuted was expressed by Macaulay in his eulogy on Hallam.† Desiring to unite justice and love, the author of this work tried to apply Vergil's principle, *Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur*, in harmony with the Christ's law: Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you. Whatever in the doings of Christianity and Islam to Africans is of good report was sought; yet there was effort to note the dark spots in their African enterprises and their mistakes in missions. Something there is to admire or learn from in the Ethiopian crossbearing of every Christian communion, somewhat in not a few to condemn or regret; but wherever a body of Christ's followers is bringing men to God and into human brotherhood, a true church is.

*Blaikie, *Personal Life of Livingstone*, Harper, 1881, pp. 208 and 209.
Imperial Gibbon's grand style may have unconsciously influenced the author of these volumes. If so, he would be fain to acknowledge his indebtedness in the words of Dante to Vergil: *Thou art my master and the author of my style.* But Milman's noble church-histories afforded more immediate inspiration and supplied a nearer model.

†*Critical Essays*, Appleton, 1875, pp. 53 and 54.

Those who view Protestantism as damnable heresy may mourn that its missions are characterized as Christian. They who regard the Roman church as Babylon the harlot and its bishop as Anti-Christ or the man of sin will grieve that the Vatican mission-colonies are treated as Christian missions. To neither sectaries does this work address itself. History, like intellect in the palace of art, may

Sit as God, holding no form of creed
But contemplating all.

The ideal method and principle in chronicling African events consist in and are imaged by the accuracy of science. Africa so largely remains the unknown continent that its religious fields can not be explored without error. But an ancient Aztec decreed death to inaccurate historians, and Rousseau exclaimed: "Half a man's life is too little for writing a book, the other half too little for correcting it when written". Hence the utmost approximation to accuracy became the *sine qua non.* Nearly one hundred unpublished manuscripts bearing on African missions, were used, there was constant return to other original sources, and the author *never permitted himself a statement until it was based on authority and verified by references.* This will explain the relative absence of footnotes. Then, since a census of missions is a supreme requirement; since the last enumeration of native communicants in Africa, Madagascar and the islands dated back to 1891 if not, indeed, to 1886; and since this, if there are to be data for judging the growth and prospects of missions, needs supplementing,— a circular letter and statistical blanks were forwarded to three hundred papal and Protestant mission-societies. Again, the American point of view and American work should have interest for the British public, for Buckland,

an English author, acknowledges that "it is too common for us [them] to be content with an insular view and assume that the work is our [their] own. America has long been a strenuous supporter of missions". Finally, Africanists and historical writers, whose experience shows them how inevitable is inaccuracy, are they who will vouchsafe the largest measure of mercy to the mistakes in this work*.

In Africa the story of missions is a chapter of civilization in such degree and fashion that Oceania alone affords an analogy. But the bulk of African mission-literature treats the theme in isolation rather than relations. This fragmentariness makes for falsity. The whole alone can explain the parts. The author therefore tried to take his stand at a center; to make all lines converge on a focus; to tell the story as that of a system comprising many elements; to present the African evolution of missions in all its aspects and bearings; and to interpret the influence of missions in history. This includes the African interplay of Christianity, Islam, Judaism and paganism; the correlation of the church with missions and civilization; the main stream of causation; the mutual resultant of political events and reli-

*Mauritius illustrates the impossibility of avoiding mistakes, even when using the best authorities. A cyclopedia of missions credits the island with a considerable African population, and gives it to be understood that missions are sustained among them. The error, if it be an error, is repeated on p. 246 of this volume. But Bishop O'Neill, of Port Louis, Mauritius, in a note dated July 8th and received on September 5th, kindly replies to the request for statistics as follows: "There is now no distinctly African element in this island. Of the total population, December 31, 1896, two hundred and fifty-nine thousand were Hindis; the remainder, one hundred and sixteen thousand, were whites (English or French) and Creoles. Of *these*, most are of Malagasi or African descent, but, by intermarriage during the last hundred years with French and Hindis, have advanced from the African type, and now are a hybrid race of French-speaking Creoles. Occasionally, by exception, one may find a pure African or a Malegache. There are no pagan Creoles. I could not reckon work among Christian Creoles a mission to Africans. Our diocesan statistics, I presume [mistakenly], are not what you are seeking".

This valuable information, so considerately furnished, arrived after the plates of the present work had been cast. It was too late to correct at the proper place such inaccuracy as there may, perhaps, be in the references to Mauritian missions. It accordingly appears better to mention the matter here as an instance of the inevitableness of errors. Others, not a few, have sprung from similar sources.

gious forces; and all environments. Such terms as "spiritual statesmanship" and "the progress of Christian culture" express the ideas it is wished to bring out as inherent in the African mission-movement.

Within the scope of such a view come all ages and churches; every quarter of the continent; each adjacent island; and African peoples wherever found. The multiplicity of African contacts with the life of humanity will surprise many, but the extent of missions among Ethiopia's children will startle more. The field reaches from the chambers of the morning to the sea of the setting sun. It stretches from Mauritius to Mexico, more than one hundred and fifty degrees. Nay! If missions are sustained among black freedmen in Hindustan, Christian evangelism among Negroes girdles half the globe*. Again, the field's breadth from north to south, when looked at in the light of the distribution of the supporters of its evangelistic agencies, is almost equal to the length. They spread from Norway to New Zealand; yet the land beneath the Great Bear is separated from that under the Southern Cross by one hundred and twenty degrees. In mere vastness Africa, excluding the overflow into America, exceeds other territorial areas of missions.

The American overflow, however, can not be excluded. In the Antilles Protestant missions to Africans practically originated. The Christianization of all American freedmen has become a key for unlocking Africa. Their providential preparation and the resulting reaction on the far home of their forefathers make missions among American Negroes an integral factor in

*Sir Harry Johnston's *British Central Africa* has appeared since this sentence was penned. It contains the following inferentially confirmatory statement: "Abyssinian slaves were introduced in numbers to the west coast of India. Some revolted and formed communities of their own in western India, now recognized by the imperial government as small tributary states under Negroid rulers of Abyssinian descent".

evangelizing Africa. Societies that in America Christianize former slaves or their descendants share in Christianizing Africa's homekeeping sons and daughters.

The Muhammadan problem has been of so transcendent importance that it demanded special treatment. The American public has not experienced such discussion as Canon Taylor initiated for the British. This is the first reason for fulness of detail. Then this found confirmation in African Islam being so ancient, subtile, variant and vast that what holds good for one age, form or region might, if unqualified, prove untrue for another. Every assertion required to be buttressed not by testimony merely but by evidence and to be safeguarded from sweeping and misleading generalization. Thirdly, long after independently developing the thesis that Islam contains elements available for missions among Muhammadans, it was learned that this view seems not without sanction from scientific scholarship. This study would have received needful ripening and rounding through new materials, but to avail oneself of the accumulating treasures would be "but watching the stream that will run forever".

Book two groups and handles the missions of modern churches, not according to the nationality of the supporters, nor even as the missions of the several societies, but by kinship in creed or polity. So far as feasible the principle of classification is that of church-union. What the American as such, the Briton, the Frank, the German, the Scandinavian are accomplishing or attempting for Africans is not stated. Nor is the student snatched from mission-society to mission-society without regard to geographical location, nationality or religious relations, a course creating confusion. Neither are missions grouped as in eastern, northern, southern or western

Africa, for, since several societies work in two or more continental divisions, this method involves repetition. Missions must not be sundered by geography nor, however grand and useful the organizations, be segregated in societies. It is the Christian church that is the missionary. It is the vine's branches that foster missions. The respective communions constituting the invisible but universal church are the real workers, societies simply their instruments. Organizations therefore are handled in families of churches of cognate creed or polity. Societies representing the Anglican system are discussed in a chapter on Anglican or Episcopal missions. The same procedure is practiced with the missions and societies of all church-bodies.

On philosophical grounds or scientific principles mission-environments require recognition before missions themselves. Chapter five ought, technically, to have been chapter one. Practically, however, the special connection between African environments and modern missions rendered it injudicious to describe the surroundings of missions until after passing beyond the ancient and medieval religious forces and their scene of action. This, by and large, was northern non-tropical Africa; those belonged to extinct cultures. Thousands of years part the preparation of the African theater and the entrance of its actors. The spectator of the drama, were its prologue at the strictly proper place, would forget while passing from the preparation to the present scenes. These are best understood when description of their setting follows the medieval act and introduces the modern protagonists. Ancient Christianity, except in Abyssinia, Nubia and Sokotra, did not touch tropical Africa. Medieval Christianity entered the African tropics in 1440, but its missioners mainly clung to the

seashore and their occupancy, east and west, was hardly effective. Not until the Jesuit in 1547 and the "Moravian" in 1736 inaugurated the modern era, did Africa *as a whole* begin to gravitate toward Christendom. Through different channels and in myriad forms this occupation survives, this partition proceeds. Old-world missions covered a fraction, new-world missions dot the bulk, of Africa. Historically, these excuse if not justify handling Africa and its all as warp and woof for the missions, not of the past, but of the present. Above all, this is the story of a religious movement. Its character and purpose reinforce the previous reasons. In a drama or epic of spiritual activities it seems more helpful to open with the religious preparation and the deeds of the men of God.

Special features of chapter five are explained in the chapter itself.

The vastness of the field rendered it impracticable to attempt more than a statement of salient events and vital principles. The desire has not been to tell a little about everything but to supply the student. Developments after 1894 and regions as yet void of large result have, as a rule, either remained unmentioned or have been relegated to footnotes. Two hundred and ninety-five organizations received mention, the American societies numbering eighty-nine, the British one hundred and thirty-two, the European seventy-four. America *here* is equivalent to the United States, Britain to the British empire, Europe to the continent in distinction from Britain and Ireland. The Baptists of England, the Basel, Berlin, Church, Hermannsburg, London, North German and Paris Societies, Lovedale Institution, the Scotch Presbyterians and Universities' Mission all obtained special attention. To grant more would violate

historical perspective and warp relative values. Should this volume prove to possess merit, it will be that of an entire and synoptic work. There are scores of books about single missions, hundreds of lives of missionaries, that abound in minutiæ. No bird's-eye view can cope with these. Persons interested in particular fields or workers will supplement these volumes with special treatises. As the daily life of one missionary varies little from that of his fellows and as most missions enjoy substantially the same career, the story of one is fairly typical of those of all. "Moravian" and Roman work, however, are described in detail; because the Unity was the true pioneer of Protestantism and, until lately, the representative of its average mission-methods; and because Rome's men and methods repay research. So far as feasible in the successive chapters, the order of time in which the societies of each denomination entered has been observed, but this was not allowed to affect the position allotted to them by their own intrinsic importance.

In spelling, advanced usage so far as feasible is followed, the authorities for English being the American Philological Association and the London Philological Society and for African languages the International Congresses of Orientalists and the Paris and Royal Geographical Societies*. Sir Harry Johnston of British Central Africa justly observes: "Beira is pronounced Bayra. Consequently we English with our usual perversity call it

*Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam* is another of these authorities. The reformed spelling of English commends itself to the present writer; but — *dis aliter visum* — not to the publisher. In oriental words such forms as Marocco for Morocco, Muhammad for Mohammed, Muslim for Moslem, Musulman for Mussulman, Umar for Omar and Uthman for Othman have been used as being less incorrect and scarcely less familiar. *Quran*, the Arabic form, is preferred to *Koran*, the English hybrid. *Darfur* and *Kordofan* appear as *Fur* and *Kordo*, for the prefix *Dar* in the former, meaning "country", and the suffix *fan* in the latter, meaning "land", are superfluous. Each, accordingly, is dropped. So are diacritical marks.

Byra, for it is one of our national peculiarities to devote all our best energies to mispronunciation of foreign words. . . . We English love inaccuracy in pronunciation and spelling. . . . English people with their dull hearing and want of knowledge *will* mispronounce". Before Sir Harry's latest work appeared, it had been seen that our fastening English suffixes to Ba-Ntu names or retaining Ba-Ntu prefixes, as Ba-, Wa-, Chi-, Ki-, Lu- or Si-, disguises the real names of tribes beyond recognition. (*Cf.* chapter five, p. 149, *note*). We use "Yao" for "Wa-Yao", "Zulu" instead of "Ama-Zulu". To be consistent, correct and scientific we ought to drop the prefix or suffix in all such words. Hence Basuto (Ba-Sutu), Marutse (Ma-Rutsi) and the like become Sutu, Rutsi and similar forms. Though *Uganda* has become anglicized and *Ganda*, the right form, would be so liable to confusion with Gand*u* or Gand*o* that either *Uganda* or *U-Ganda* must stand; yet every consideration demands "the Swahili people" instead of "the Wa-Swahili", "the Ganda language" instead of "the Lu-Ganda", and so on. How much better *Tabili* sounds and looks than *Ama-Ndabili*, the original Zulu form, or even *Ma-Tabili*, its dialectic variation in the Chwana language!

Unreasonable complaint is raised against the bulk of an African book, but it rests on misapprehensions as to Africa. This is not a country. It is a continent. It is equivalent to six continents. It is a world in itself. To expect a volume on the African world and its all to be only the size of *The Jesuits in North America*, a work dealing merely with a brief episode in a small field, is to exact the putting of Olympus into a nutshell or the minimizing of a *jinn* to a flask. Professor Drummond wrote a little book on tropical Africa, but its lack of

limitary or qualifying detail, a defect due to want of space, led Stanley to dub it inaccurate.

To obtain complete and trustworthy information as to papal missions remains difficult. In 1715 Cerri, secretary of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, wrote: "It seems the constant opinion of all members of the Congregation that little credit is to be given the letters, relations and solicitations from the missionaries. This remedy [visitation of missions] is now more necessary than ever in many provinces and kingdoms". In 1862 Venn the Anglican declared that "the delusive character of many prevailing sentiments respecting [Roman] missions can not fail to appear on careful study of the truth of Xavier's history". In 1878 Baesten, a Belgian Jesuit, complained of a dearth of information as to his order in East Africa. In 1879 Cust could obtain no information from Propaganda upon papal missions. But in 1895, at Chicago, Archbishop Feehan, Count Onahan of the Holy Roman Empire and Father Hoeffer, *S. J.*, vice-president of St Ignatius College, enabled the author of this work to present Roman data as to papal missions and to bulwark each statement with Roman authority. In 1896 Cardinal Gibbons favored him with a note of introduction to accompany the circular letter and statistical blanks forwarded to all Roman mission-societies acting in behalf of African peoples; but, though His Eminence "took pleasure in recommending Mr Noble", Dr Slattery of Baltimore and his societies were the sole Catholics to answer the kind cardinal's request that the inquirer be furnished with information as to their work among black and brown races. From Propaganda itself no reply was received. These facts may explain such errors as the present writer has committed in his treatment of papal missions.

To the Reverend Harlan P. Beach, the exceptionally efficient and self-sacrificing educational secretary of the American Student-Volunteers, and to Doctor Dennis, the distinguished authority in the science of missions, the author is under special obligations. Mr Beach kindly favored him with analytic criticism that covered the entire text, and rendered many other invaluable services that can not be specified here, and that can never be recompensed. Doctor Dennis generously granted the freest use of his costly and valuable statistics of missions, and should not be held responsible for possible errors or the form of the African statistics in the compilation near the end of volume two, pp. 769-796. Especially is this the case with the compiler's lists of Bible-versions, pp. 778-785, where he has added material of his own and of others to that of Doctor Dennis. Statements as to the authorship or source of this supplemental matter are prefixed to these lists, except that on p. 782 the compiler failed to state that he composed the paragraph as to non-missionary versions and that on p. 785 he unintentionally neglected to credit the list of preparing versions to Doctor Dennis.

Doctor Felkin, once a medical missionary in U-Ganda but now a practicing physician in London, has also rendered valuable kindnesses. So, too, has Professor Cust, who has beggared thanks.

There are many others to whom the present writer is indebted, but to each and all he can only return nameless if public thanks.

As Milton expressed the spirit in which this task was attempted, let Tennyson voice the feeling with which this faultful work is relinquished:

That which I have done
Do Thou within Thyself make pure.

FREDERIC PERRY NOBLE.

CHICAGO, November, 1898.

BOOK I

THE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PREPARATION

FROM ABRAHAM TO LUTHER

B. C. 2080 – A. D. 1520

CHAPTER 1

B. C. 2080 = A. D. 30

IN THE BEGINNING: AFRICA IN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

Ἀεὶ φέρει Λιβύη τι καίνον

Aristotle

IMPORT OF AFRICAN MISSIONS. RELATION TO HISTORY AND CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION. AFRICA IN MYTHOLOGY. HEBREW GERMS OF MISSIONS. SCRIPTURAL ALLUSIONS TO AFRICAN LANDS. AFRICAN INFLUENCE ON ISRAEL AND CHRISTIANITY. ABRAHAM IN EGYPT. ISRAELITES IN ASSOCIATION WITH EGYPT. JOSEPH. MISSIONARY INFLUENCE OF THE HEBREWS. SHEBA'S QUEEN AND THE WISEST OF MEN. "JEWS" IN ABYSSINIA. REVELATIONS OF THE DIVINE PURPOSE FOR AFRICA. DISPERSION OF ISRAEL THROUGH ANCIENT AFRICA. ALEXANDRINE JUDAISM. THE COMING OF THE CHRIST.

The story that unrolls itself before us reaches into the dusk of time and stretches toward the white light of eternity. The vastness of the field tires the wings of thought. The grandeur of the theme renews its youth. So far as the faith of the Hebrew was a part of Christianity and a preparation for it, so far the annals of African missions may be dated from Abraham in Egypt, two thousand years before Egypt saved the Christ-child from death. To the extent that Islam promulgates the truth of Christianity, to that extent the Muhammadan missionary helped bridge the gap of the middle ages between ancient and modern Christian missions in Africa and is to-day paving the way for Christianity among the Negroes of Sudan.*

*"In proper names of foreign, especially of oriental, origin," Gibbon justly said, "it should always be our aim in our English version to express a faithful copy of the original." A similar principle, independently reached, originally determined the spelling in this book.

All along the ages Christian missions among African peoples have linked themselves in less or larger degree, sometimes directly but more often indirectly, with the greatest and most luminous names that sparkle in the diadem of our race. Some of these human jewels are lustrous in spiritual relations, but many of them shine resplendent with the golden glories of the world. Abraham — as majestic and solid a figure in the history of humanity as the Andes or Himalayas that lift earth toward the heavens — parleyed with Jehovah face-to-face, won the secret of the true God as our permanent possession, and became the forefather of nations. Moses, the most tremendous human force that has molded man, laid down the moral law that is to-day the master of Christian, Jew and Muhammadan in conduct toward fellowmen. Athanasius, the Koptic descendant of ancient Egyptians in whose veins flowed a strain of Negro blood, annexed Abyssinia to Christendom, and saved to Christianity its faith that the Christ is very God of God. In Egypt were laid the foundations of Christian monasticism. In North Africa Augustine the Numidian, Cyprian and Tertullian originated Latin Christianity, while Donatus was a forerunner of the Puritan. Muhammad the Arabian prophet told forth anew the unity of God, and through him the sparse and swarthy sons of Sahara and the black, teeming children of Nigritia learned to adore one God, albeit a God of force and will and revealed in a belief as stark as a dead man's hand. Cædmon, the Saxon Milton, knew of the Ethiops as "a people brown with the hot coals of heaven." Charlemagne sustained the Christians of Egypt. In the middle ages illustrious popes held Africa in fathering care. The crusades brought some of the noblest as well as the vilest characters of Europe into touch with the lost con-

tinent. Saladin, sultan of Egypt, proved to be the knightliest figure in the third crusade. John of England, the ablest and wickedest of her *kings* (not sovereigns), sent an embassy to Muhammad III of Marocco for succor against his barons and the French, offering to hold the English kingdom from the Muslim sovereign and to embrace Islam. Petrarch expected to be known to posterity by his *Africa*, and cried: "I consent to live and die in Africa." Dominic and Francis of Assisi sent their missionaries into Africa, the founder of the Dominicans attempting to enter Marocco and the father of the Franciscans himself proclaiming Christianity to a sultan of Egypt. Louis IX of France led one crusade to Egypt and another to Tunis, only to die there and in the course of centuries to become to Arab eyes a saint of Islam. Ramon Lull, the greatest if not the first of missionaries among the followers of the prophet, won the martyr's crown in Algeria. The Prester John of Christian myth was sometimes fancied to dwell in Ethiopia. The Portuguese prince, half-English Henry the Navigator, was inspired as much by the missionary motive in his glorious career of African discovery as by the longing to win a new way to the wealth of Ind. Christopher Columbus visited Elmina on the Gold Coast. Bartholomeu, his brother, and Martin Behaim, the great German geographer, shared with Cam in the discovery of the Kongo. Diaz and Gama found the new road to Cathay, and their African achievement nullified the attempts of Columbus. Ximenes, the magnificent cardinal, scholar, statesman and uncrowned king of Spain, and Charles V, sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire, both measured their strength against the infidel of Barbary. Erasmus, the prince of the renascence, pleaded for Christian missions to Africa as well as to

other heathen lands. Loyola and Xavier stamped their mark upon parts of Africa. Captain John Smith, the true founder and savior of Virginia, "understanding of the warres in Barbarie" offered his sword in 1604 to Abdul Aziz of Marocco, and informs us, alas! that these "pyrats" had learned their trade from English rovers driven out of European seas. Othello the Moor, "wearing the burnished livery of the sun" and telling "of antres vast and deserts idle, rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven; and of the cannibals that each other eat, the anthropophagi, and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders," inspired one of thousand-souled Shakspere's most terrible tragedies of passion. Richelieu, Oliver Cromwell and Louis XIV of France shook the pirate powers, and planned for missions. Vincent Paul, Cotton Mather, Zinzendorf, Jonathan Edwards, — whom Robert Hall considered the greatest man in history and whose power of subtle argument Mackintosh characterized as perhaps unmatched,— Zachary Macaulay, Wilberforce and Clarkson kept the evangelization of Africa close at heart. Swedenborg declared that the Negro would yield more readily than other races to Christianity. But with these names we draw near the times of Lincoln, Livingstone and Lavigerie, the greatest benefactors that Africa and its peoples have yet known. The African firmament of the nineteenth century becomes so crowded that its great men who have sustained philanthropic or religious relations to Africa form a galaxy of indivisible splendor. Mehemet Ali the Albanian master of Egypt; Napoleon; Jefferson; Monroe; Adams; Talleyrand; Metternich; Bismarck; Gambetta and Leopold are but a few, named at random, among the statesmen whose African activities aimed at her betterment. Enough names, however,

have been selected from the roll-call of history to prove that the story of African missions is no jejune and barren series of church-annals but an account of a movement always in vital touch with the growth of Christianity or with the advance of civilization.

Before the dawn of history and even during its early morn Africa stood for mystery and symbolism in religious thought. The very name has by a fanciful etymology been fantastically interpreted as meaning sealed, secret or separated.* The sphinx is the true type of Africa. The Egyptians regarded their country — itself merely an oasis — as the heart of the world, and deified their mysterious river as the hidden god. Beyond the western desert lay the abode of their gods and the land of souls. About B. C. 1500, however, Somalia, — if this eastern extremity of Africa be identified with Punt — contained a holy land, the abode of Athor and perhaps the primal home of Ammon himself. On the papyri and bas-reliefs are recorded moral maxims that are still part of the wisdom of nations. Religious beliefs, such as the incarnation of God, immortality and the spiritual body, may be traced to germs revealed by Theban tombs. The Hellenes lavished mythological titles upon Africa. Homer characterizes the Ethiopians as blameless and undying, and speaks of Zeus as having fellowship with them. Lethe flowed in Cyrenaica, and in Tunis lay the lotus-land visited by Odysseus. Other Greeks placed the gardens of the Hesperides with their golden fruit of immortality in the region of the Atlas mountains, and regarded the western ocean as a sea of darkness in whose lethal waters they located the islands of the

*A "scholar" even suggests that the three Hebrew consonants, *Aleph*, *Pe* and *Resh* (which appear in Ophir as *O*, *Ph* = *F* and *R*) compose the Shemitic root *Ophr* or *Afr* to which was afterward added the Latin ending *ica*. Hence "Africa"!

blessed. The Canarian archipelago constituted the Fortunate Isles of the Greek poets, the blissful abode of departed heroes who enjoyed eternal life in delightful climes where fell no snow nor rain nor frost. The medieval Arabs also characterized the group as the islands of eternity. But more modern discoverers reported that the natives complained that "God placed them on these islands, and then forsook and forgat them!" Pliny the elder mentions the Isles of the Gorgons as Atlantic lands, and some students identify his fabulous islands with the Cape Verd group. Muhammad considered Abyssinia a holy land, and counseled his followers to seek refuge there from persecution. England's patron saint, said legend, slew dragons in the deserts of Libya. Cophetua who made the beggar-maid his queen — so runs the ballad — was an African monarch. Even through the middle ages the curious myth of an earthly paradise amid the Atlantic waves dominated the popular fancy. As late as 1367 the Madeiran group was indicated as St Brendan s isles. One of its havens was designated as the sacred port. It seemed, however, as if so delightful an island could only have been discovered by love himself.

Christian missions to Africa spring from Hebrew and Gentile germs. The history of the Christian church begins in the tents of Abraham. The Gentile, too, comes into the courts of the Jew, for Alexander's idea of the universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man locked hands with the monotheism of Abraham and Moses as a factor in the preparation of the world for Christianity. However far afield the story fares, every event bears upon African missions. The links of their history are seldom severed. Their chain of spiritual continuity is never sundered.

It is in the historic realities of Hebrew tradition that we find the first instances of providential preparation for missions. If our brother in black wish to pin his faith to a belief that the African Ethiopia and the Garden of Eden lay near each other, it can work little mischief. The linking of the names is simply accidental and picturesque. In the tenth chapter of Genesis, that ancient and authentic work on ethnology, the sons of Ham include Canaan, Cush, Mizraim and Phut. The preceding chapter reveals the singular fact that while it was not Ham but Canaan whom Noah cursed for Ham's misdeed, yet Ham himself received no blessing. The threefold denunciation of the curse of servitude upon Canaan and the exclusion of Ham from any blessing are singular and perhaps significant. Even so, the Negro was never doomed by God to slavery, despite the widespread fallacy that Negro slavery was a divine enactment. The Negro does not belong to the Hamitic family. He could not be within the circle of a malediction that bore only upon one member of the Hamites and not upon the entire Hamite stock.

Whatever the right view of Phut, Cush and Canaan as countries, families, languages or nations, Mizraim represents Egypt and Egyptian off-shoots. In the Egyptians we have a dark race originating from the mingling of black and white races. If these blacks were Negroes or like Negroes, — and the best authorities regard this as the case, — and if the white men were of Hamitic descent, the civilization of Egypt is only less Negro than "Caucasian". If Asia furnished the brain, Africa gave the brawn and fire. From the union of the black man's measureless vitality and the white man's infinite intellectual vigor sprang the wonderful civilization which for five thousand years lighted the Mediterranean world.

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Egypt unfolded such religious truths as the divine immanence, the descent of deity into man and the sacredness of the body. When Christianity conquered Egypt, it took a tinge from the faith of the conquered, although Christianity's ideas were independent and original with itself. The indestructibility of the ancient Egyptian religion caused Egyptian Christianity to influence the development of Christian thought. Moses had allowed many ceremonies in his ritual like those in the Egyptian worship. Christianity borrowed rites from Egyptian ecclesiasticism. Two thousand years before a Christian pope held the double keys, a Theban priest bore the title: Keeper of heaven's two doors. Christian theology shares four truths with Egyptian mythology: (1) Creation and government are the work not of a single undivided divine being but of one god in several persons. (2) Salvation can not be expected from the justice or mercy of the divine judge, unless atoning sacrifice be made to him by a divine being. (3) Among the persons composing the godhead one could suffer and die. (4) A god-man once lived on earth, born of a human mother but without earthly father.

Such a spirituality, although overlaid by gross materialism, constituted part of the religious environment into which Christianity entered. History knows nothing of spontaneous generation. It was in the fulness of time and as the logical result of historic causes that Christianity came to its African home. As we stand at the Egyptian portal of time, it is not amiss to forecast the centuries and to know what is to be the reflex action of Egypt upon Christianity. This African land affords the first instance in the history of missions of these for those, of what we get for what we give.

Throughout the entire course of Hebrew history the

relations between Israel and Africa remain almost unbroken and are often intimate. The chronicler, the poet, the prophet have something to say of Cush or Ethiopia, of Egypt and Libya, of Ham and Lud, Mizraim and Phut, of Ophir, Seba and Sheba. With Abraham begins the authentic history of the Hebrews, and their greatest men are in one connection or another linked with Africa. Abraham receives the divine promise that he shall be a blessing to all families of the earth, and that God will bless them that bless him. To regard Abraham as a missionary to Egypt (B. C. 2080?) would be to give loose reins to fancy.* Nevertheless, it is pleasant to imagine this hero of faith as the forerunner of the future Christian missionary — for Hebrew traditions in the Quran represent him as teaching religion to the Egyptians, and Milman thinks that the Pharaoh recognized the God of this apostle of monotheism — and by his side to place the stately Sara, the princess for whose sake the Pharaoh treated Abraham well.

Joseph, Moses, Solomon, Josiah and the Machabees knit new knots in the cord of the political relations between Egypt and Israel. Miriam, Job and David blended African strains in their songs divine. Isaiah and Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Daniel and minor prophets made known the purposes of Providence for Africa. The apocryphal and the apocalyptic books of the Jews in the silent centuries between the old and the new covenant teem with mystic allusions to the continent beyond the Red Sea. Matthew, Luke, Apollos and John reveal the first unfoldings of its Christian history.

Joseph himself bore testimony to his faith. (B. C. 1875?) Rawlinson states that his monarch acknowledged a single god. The king bestowed an Egyptian

*Where authorities differ as to dates a question-mark is inserted.

name upon Joseph of which Brugsch says: "It is the only time a like name for a god, which appears to exclude the idea of idolatry, is met with in Egyptian texts". Geikie goes so far as to maintain that it would not be strange if this divine name actually referred to the Hebrew's Jehovah; but Geikie is not an Egyptologist. It is hardly misuse of the historical imagination to believe that Joseph won converts to his God, for the monuments of after days record the temporary triumph of a monotheism.

Centuries passed away. Amenhotep IV or Khu-en-Aten (B. C. 1364?) whose mother was a Shemite, had embraced her religion, and shocked the Egyptians by substituting the novel creed, so far as practicable, for the ancient polytheism. Rawlinson thinks it not unlikely that these seekers after God were drawn toward their monotheistic creed by the presence of a large monotheistic population, the Hebrews, who "must have attracted attention from their numbers and the peculiarity of their tenets". The likelihood that an indirect missionary influence was exerted by Hebrew monotheism is confirmed by another historian. He claims that "curious parallels might be drawn between the external forms of the worship in the desert and those set up at Tel-el-Amarna".

The solar monotheists did not attempt to change the religion of Egypt but to establish a court-religion of pure and elevated character. About B. C. 1325 (?) the "heresy" ceased to show itself. Closely coincident with the downfall of the heretical dynasty came the commencement of the persecution of Israel, as if the captive race were involved in the odium attaching to the religious reformation. During the reign of Rameses II Moses was born, adopted by his daughter and educated in all

the wisdom of the Egyptians. His wife was, perhaps, an Egyptian woman; Scriptural scholars differ as to the question whether the wife thus characterized were actually Zipporah or another person. The Jew had given Joseph to Egypt as an earthly saver, but Egypt richly repaid the gift by its education of Moses. If Israel did not live in Egypt for centuries, its after career would be an inscrutable, meaningless riddle. The Egyptian episode stamped itself ineradicably upon this people, and partly schooled it for its share in the promulgation of Christianity. These Egyptian and Jewish elements in the coming evangelization of Africa played a part in Christian missions none the less real because indirect and remote.

With the escape from Egypt the religious relations between Israel and Mizraim lapsed for hundreds of years. Solomon, indeed, wedded a daughter of the Pharaoh, but the Egyptian princess was one of the many foreign wives who in his old age drew the wisest of men into idolatry, — perhaps.* It is in his reign that other African lands come for a moment from unhistoric darkness into the illumined circle of divine truth. If Ophir were Simbabye (south of Zambezi river), and Sheba the Somal country south of the gulf of Aden, the visit of the queen of Sheba might be regarded as an early instance of Ethiopia stretching her hands unto God. David had already predicted that princes should come out of Egypt, and that Ethiopia should suddenly seek God. The queen tested the king with difficult questions, which included inquiries as to God. He told her all. At last she uttered this confession: Blessed be the Lord thy God! Because the Lord loved Israel forever, He made thee king to do judgment and justice.

*Ewald adduced possible grounds for the belief that the Scriptures do not accuse Solomon himself of having lapsed into actual idolatry.

The Abyssinians boast a myth that ascribes the origin of their royal house to Solomon and the queen of Sheba. The Felashas, mistakenly considered Abyssinian Jews, claim descent from the ten "lost" tribes on the strength of the fanciful fact that the name of the race means the exiles. Yet they are fond of quoting the Menilek legend. Their religious zeal connects them so closely with the Jews that it would not be surprising to find eastern Israelites regarding them as of kindred race. When uninterrupted communication existed between Jerusalem and the numerous Sinais of the African plateaus, the Jewish communities in Abyssinia enjoyed religious cohesion with Palestine. Intercourse was maintained chiefly through the powerful Jewish commonwealths occupying a considerable area of the Arabian peninsula, one existing in the Himyaritic district as late as A. D. 522. From the east Judaism spread across the Red Sea, until, at the period of decadence, the Jews of the dispersion held their ground best in the west. The Felashan faith no longer predominates in Abyssinia. Their dynasties survive only in popular tradition. Yet the Arabian Jews, their religious kinsmen, whose last state expired only fifty years before the birth of Muhammad, were among the spiritual fathers of the prophet of Allah.

When Job would appraise the worth of wisdom, he exclaimed: It can not be valued with the gold of Ophir; the topaz of Ethiopia shall not equal it. The prophetic historian of Israel's kings uses the wisdom of Egypt and the orient as his yard-stick for the wisdom of Solomon, but only to find that the Hebrew excelled. When David and other psalmists would set forth the historic evidence for the existence, power and verity of the God of Israel, they refer frequently to His tokens and wonders in Egypt. When Isaiah looked for concrete

instances of the reception of Gentiles into the kingdom of God, Egypt and Ethiopia stood among the redeemed in his prophetic vision. There should be an altar to the Lord in Egypt. The people should cry unto Him, and He should send a savior, a great one, who should deliver them. The Egyptians should know the Lord, and return to Him. To Israel God said: "I gave Egypt for thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba for thee". From Jeremiah we learn that an Ethiopian was among the proselytes to Judaism. Ezekiel carries on the burden of prophecy as to Africa. Egypt should know that God is the Lord, and messengers from Him should go forth to make the care-free Ethiopians afraid. Through Zephaniah God revealed that from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia His suppliants should bring offering. Such predictive passages render it clear that although Egypt was often held up as a symbol of wickedness and a type of the world-power, while wo was denounced to the land shadowing with wings that lay behind Ethiopia, yet the spiritual seers of Israel perceived, however dimly and partially, that the redemptive purpose included Africa. Among the glorious things spoken of the city of God, the psalmist mentions Ethiopia. Jehovah proclaims her as among those who know Him. There she was born.

The downfall of the Judean kingdom resulted ultimately in the renewal of the religious influence of Hebrew monotheism in Africa, though Jeremiah died in Egypt, a martyr protesting against the idolatry of its Judean refugees and bearing testimony to the truth of God. From the exile on, Jews swarmed into every accessible region of Africa. In fact the Jews accounted for the origin of the Berber, a Hamitic race in North Africa, by the tradition that they were the descendants of Canaanites fleeing from Joshua. The Saracens represented the

natives as Palestinians expelled by David and guided into Africa by Goliath. Nevertheless such African authorities as Brown — accurate, painstaking and unbiased — do not hesitate to say positively: "In Marocco, in the Atlas mountains, in Sus and in oases from Marocco to Timbuktu there have been, from times to which memory does not extend, little colonies of Jews. It is possible they were there before the Berber came. Religious fervor they have maintained throughout all persecutions. These colonies must have been founded by emigrants from Palestine. Arriving long before the Arabs, Jewish monotheism and ritual must have influenced the pagan Berber".

At Alexandria, the creation and monument of Alexander the Great who helped to open the path of African missions by making Egypt Hellenic for centuries, the Jews influenced religious thought, and compassed sea and land to make one proselyte. This supplemented the intellectual contribution of Athens and Alexandria toward preparing the ancient world for Christianity. Still more important as a factor in missions was the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures (concluded *c.* B. C. 221) into the universal language of the classic world. Putting the oracles of God into the Hellenist vernacular was an epochal event. It enabled the Greek as well as the Jew, the Egyptian also and the Ethiopian, to know the supremely divine and uniquely inspired revelation of spiritual truth. Whether the readers were few or many — and the numerous apocalyptic and apocryphal books appear to imply a considerable constituency — the existence of a Hellenist version was no small element in the preparation of ancient Africa for Christianity. It contributed to the swift success of ancient missions.

This most ancient and famous of versions gave the

signal for a remarkable outbreak of literary and theological activity. So far as this was apologetic and propagandist, it was a branch of the new-born zeal for Jewish missions. But side by side with this aggressive yet external movement ran an inner one whose object was to interpret and reconcile Judaism to Greek and Egyptian culture. The development of old faiths was complete. The missionary work of preparation for the new belief was done in Alexandria. Expectancy that a deliverer of the nations should issue from Judea had been spread by the Jews. Rome had consummated the material preparation of the Mediterranean world. Only one step in the intellectual preparation remained. This completion came through one who "perhaps more than any other prepared his co-religionists and country-men for the new teaching, which, indeed, was presented by many of its early advocates in forms learned from him". This was Philo the Alexandrine Jew. Born only twenty years before the Christ but untouched by Christianity, he facilitated the task of the Alexandrian teachers who followed the apostles. Though John, being more likely *a priori* to draw from Jesus and the Old Testament, did *not* derive his view of the Word from Philo — Bigg maintains against Westcott that he did — Philonism perhaps colored the New Testament and probably affected the after development of Christian doctrine. Jewish speculations paved the way for the Alexandrine theory of the Word (*Logos*), and "there can be little [?] doubt that John acquired from Alexandria that conception of the Word which first brought Christian theology within the sphere of metaphysics". Bigg adds that the magnitude of Christianity's debt to Philo for divining the possibility and mode of an eternal distinction in the divine unity can hardly be overestimated. How great it is we may

partly measure by this fact: The doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which has no place in his system, long remained inarticulate, meager and uncertain.

The birth and the death of Jesus himself connect His earthly life with Africa. The holy family took refuge in Egypt, and thirty-three years later Simon of Cyrene bore the cross after Jesus to Calvary. The return from Egypt fulfilled the prophecy of Hosea in a richer sense than the prophet dreamed when through him God said: "Out of Egypt have I called My son." The cross-bearing of Simon afforded a symbol and type of the fact that henceforth Africa too had her part to play in the kingdom of the Christ. In Simon's person the cross was laid upon her, and heretics have actually maintained that this African was crucified instead of the Nazarene.

CHAPTER 2

A. D. 30–567

THE ANCIENT MISSIONS

Thus it is written and thus it behooved the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead, and that repentance and remission of sins be preached in His name among all nations. Ye are witnesses of these . . . John baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Spirit . . . All power is given unto Me in heaven and earth. Go ye, therefore, and disciple all the nations, baptizing them into the name of Father, Son and Spirit and teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you . . . Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature . . . I send the promise of My Father upon you; but tarry in Jerusalem until endued with power from on high . . . It is not for you to know the times or seasons. But ye shall receive power after the Spirit has come upon you, and be My witnesses unto the uttermost parts of the earth . . . Unto the consummation of the age I am with you alway. Amen!

The Christ's Magna Charta of Missions*

BIRTH OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. FIRST AFRICAN CONVERSION. AFRICA AND APOSTOLIC MISSIONS. CONTRAST BETWEEN APOSTOLIC AND ECCLESIASTICAL CHRISTIANITY. EGYPTIAN CHRISTIANITY: ITS MISSION AND ITS MISSIONS. ATHANASIUS THE MISSIONARY-STATESMAN. ABYSSINIA AND CHRISTIANITY. ETHIOPIA THE FIRST CRUSADER. THE NUBIAN MISSION. SOKOTRA AND ITS MISSIONS. CHRISTIANITY AND MISSIONS IN NORTH AFRICA. FAILURES AND SUCCESSES OF ANCIENT AFRICAN MISSIONS. THEIR LESSONS AND RELATIONS TO MODERN MISSIONS.

Pentecost was the birthday of Christian missions to Africa. On Sunday, May 28th of the year 30 there were

*Acts I:2-8; Luke XXIV:44-49; Mark XVI:15; Matthew XXVIII:18-20. These differing reports and their clauses have been so arranged as to show the several ideas and principles and the development of thought. Phrases from one Synoptist have been woven with one or more from another, the changes being indicated. Identical propositions and words of repetition have been omitted. The Duke of Wellington is reported to have characterized these commands of Jesus as the marching-orders of the church militant.

devout Jews at Jerusalem from every nation under heaven.* These included not only Jews born in Egypt and in the regions of Libya around Cyrene but proselytes. Among Peter's converts there must have been Africans. The promise was unto every one and to all afar. The historic facts as to the entrance of Christianity into Europe render it an inevitable inference that these African Christians spread the new faith in Egypt and Libya upon their return home. According, however, to the earliest tradition, Christianity was first preached in Alexandria by Barnabas. But the Egyptian church itself attributed its founding to Mark the interpreter of Peter. Bishop Lightfoot thought there was no reason to doubt the latter tradition. This would mean that after having been a missionary in Asia Minor the author of the first biography of Jesus — a life, too, written for Gentiles — became (A. D. 68?) the first missionary-bishop in Africa and possibly the first African martyr. There is also a beautiful legend to the effect that the apostles formally assigned themselves to separate spheres of missions. Matthew went as a missionary to Ethiopia first, and suffered martyrdom either in Abyssinia or India. Simon Zelotes in his apostolate traversed Asia, Egypt, Libya (including Cyrene) and Mauritania. Jude extended his missionary labors to Libya, where the faithfulness of his preaching was rewarded by a cruel death. Thomas, so Jerome understood, preached the gospel to Ethiopia. James the Less labored in Egypt, and was there crucified. If we chose to grant credit to such statements, we could believe that Africa had its full quota of missionaries from the apostolic college. To enjoy the services of nearly half of the apostles might satisfy the most eager of religious communities.

*Andrews' *Life of Our Lord*.

Very simple but touching and powerful is the record of the first African whom the Scriptures single out as a convert to Christianity. A man of Ethiopia, probably a native proselyte to Judaism but possibly an African Jew of Meroë, since the Jews had spread to that region in great numbers, had come to Jerusalem to worship. The prayer of Solomon a thousand years before concerning a stranger not of Israel but for the name of God a traveler from a far country had, if this Ethiopian were not of Jewish descent, received a new fulfillment. The forecast of Zephaniah was also justified. The nations had heard of the great name of the God of Israel. He had heard the suppliants and had done according to all that the stranger had asked. In His sight the thousand years were only yesterday and a watch in the night. Now Luke unfolds a remarkable instance of the personal action of divine Providence.

> Ye whose hearts are fresh and simple,
> Who have faith in God and nature,
> Who believe that in all ages
> Every human heart is human,
> That in even savage bosoms
> There are longings, yearnings, strivings
> For the good they comprehend not,
> That the feeble hands and helpless,
> Groping blindly in the darkness,
> Touch God's right hand in that darkness
> And are lifted up and strengthened —
> Listen!

An angel of the Lord said to Philip the evangelist: Go toward the south unto the desert road from Jerusalem to Gaza. There he saw a man of great authority, the treasurer of the queen of the Ethiopians, returning to Africa. He was seeking more light, and the Lord of light sent the Light that was to lighten the Gentiles,

sent a messenger of the Christ. Sitting in his chariot the Ethiopian read Isaiah. The Spirit bade Philip join himself to the chariot. As he ran thither, the evangelist overheard the eunuch read this passage:

> Like a sheep being led to the slaughter,
> As a ewe before shearers is dumb,
> He openeth not His mouth.
> From oppression and judgment He was taken.
> In His generation who considered
> That He was cut off from the land of the living?

It seems almost symbolic that a man from the continent which has through the Christian centuries been peeled and scattered should have fallen upon the picture of the Christ as the man of sorrows. Philip asked: Understandest thou what thou readest? The Ethiopian replied: How can I, except some man guide me? Inviting Philip to sit beside him, he courteously inquired: I pray thee, of whom speaketh the prophet? Of himself or of some other man? Philip planted himself on the self-same passage as proof that Jesus was the predicted Messiah and Savior. As they rode, they came to water. The enthusiastic and persuaded eunuch exclaimed: See! Here is water. What hinders me from being baptized? Then and there the evangelist received the Ethiopian into the Christian church. The eunuch went on his way rejoicing. The return of a person of such influence and in a new character could not fail of consequences, even if no record exist. The most momentous event in the history of Africa had occurred. The entrance of Christianity, whether with him or with pentecostal converts of the year before, was its first step in passing from the ancient to the modern world.

With the disappearance of the Ethiopian from the

scene the curtain of the New Testament, except for fleeting glimpses, falls upon apostolic missions to Africa. Possibly Jews of Alexandria and Cyrene aided in the first martyrdom and in the first great persecution of Christians. Seven years later (A. D. 44?) men of Cyrene filled the role of missionaries to the Jews of Antioch. Africa's payment of her debt to Christianity did not allow interest to accumulate against her. In 45(?) the church of Antioch included Lucius of Cyrene and Simeon Niger among its prophets and teachers. Neander maintained that Barnabas of Cyprus, whom the Holy Spirit chose from Christ Church at Antioch to be a missionary, had probably enjoyed an Alexandrine education. If Simeon were a man belonging to a black race, and not merely a Hellene or a Jew of dark complexion, possibly a Negro enthusiast might be justified in his inference that here arose an African prototype of Crowther, the Negro slave and missionary and bishop of the Niger. Apollos, however, the Apollo of the apostolic church, was certainly an Alexandrine Jew. Through him African Christianity richly repaid the gift of Christian missions. He was her missionary to Greece. Mighty in the Scriptures, he not improbably enriched them with his *Epistle to the Hebrews*, that Westminster Abbey of ancient Jewish worthies. Apollos is Christianity's first African author and theologian, and his faith flames with African fire.

It affords occasion for poignant regret that *Acts* end so abruptly. This book is the first and most important and interesting history of missions. It is also the best manual of their principles. With its close (A. D. 59?) we are left to grope in the obscurity of ecclesiastical annals, always scant and often vague, for references to

the progress of African missions.* North Africa received the new faith about 61 from Rome, but after the first century the few missions inspired by African Christianity were churchly enterprises rather than apostolic missions. It may, in justice, be maintained that through the persecutions of the second and third centuries the laity as well as the clergy, when seeking refuge among African barbarians, evangelized them; that Cyprian, bishop of Carthage 248–258, when banished to Curubis made Christ known to multitudes who had been ignorant of Him; that Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria about 247, when exiled because refusing homage to Zeus or other gods, devoted himself to missions at Kephro [Kufra], a remote district of Libya, yet unreached by Christianity. But the Christianity planted by Egyptian hands after the fourth century had little power of permanent growth, and existed among races from whom empire had long passed westward; and the Christian church in Berber, Carthaginian and Roman Africa did almost nothing to spread Christianity among the aboriginal races.

In Egypt and North Africa the church expanded with great rapidity. During the century between the years 30 and 130 the mere fact that the Christian was neither Jew nor pagan made almost every Christian a missionary. Though special organizations for missions arose very early, it was the individual, far more than the society, that spread Christianity. The mistress of the world enforced the Roman peace. Egyptian wisdom and Greek culture had prepared the mental environment. The Jewish dispersion around the northern and eastern

*The Azores, though one hundred miles nearer Portugal than Marocco and possessing European inhabitants, are by such geographers as Reclus described among African islands. Hence Malta, whose population is chiefly of African descent and speaks an African dialect, may not unfitly be mentioned here. Its ancient inhabitants are traditionally reported to have been converted by Paul during his three months' wintering among them (60–61?).

coasts of Africa had everywhere spread knowledge of Judaism. Philo had helped in Egypt to create an atmosphere of religious hospitality. In these favoring circumstances the warfare of the church was comparatively bloodless. From the facts that Paul never built on other men's foundations and never visited Africa, it might be inferred that Egypt had before 61 been so thoroughly evangelized by Christian missionaries that Paul could confine himself to Asia and Europe. These early missions sagaciously struck for the strategic centers, and strove to seize the capitals and other great cities for Christ. The Judaic ascetics (Essenes) near Alexandria embraced Christianity in great numbers. As early as 180 Christianity reached upper Egypt, and in 200 the Alexandrine church was flourishing and wealthy. It still adhered to the ancient democracy of the congregation, a fidelity partly due to its intelligence and social standing. Nevertheless, numbers and wealth brought dangers of their own. The lowering of the average of morals and piety among the laymen threw the virtues of the clergy into stronger relief. The most promising young men attended the lectures at the heathen university of Alexandria. The lapse of some of them led to the development (A. D. 150) of Christian catechising into an institution. This was the famous catechetical school, partly a propaganda, partly a denominational college beside the secular university. Through this the pristine church gave its ablest and noblest men to missions.

The teacher under whom this school attained a place in history was Pantænus, "that true Sicilian bee", who about 170 (?) journeyed as a missionary to India. This India must have been either Arabia or Abyssinia. But the more famous Clement, (d. 213?) his pupil and successor, was the Alexander Duff of his day. He was

above all things a missionary. He had the activities and characteristics of a missionary. From Pantænus, probably, he imbibed the spirit that makes *The Exhortation to the Heathen* as much a missionary's tract as a theologian's proof of Christianity. Origen, too, Origen the adamantine, visited Arabia about 210 as a missionary more than once. From the Alexandrine school poured forth swarms of missionaries and teachers. As early, at least, as 163, Justin Martyr could say: "There exists not a people [*i. e.*, in the Roman world] among whom prayers are not offered in the name of a crucified Jesus." More than any others Origen and Clement saved the Christian church from paganism, sensuality, fanaticism. They broke the power of the stoic religion of humanity, of epicurean agnosticism, of platonic spiritualism. Last and highest among their merits they preached the fatherhood of God.

The lapse of another century brings the story of African missions to Athanasius the Great, pope of Alexandria, the one Christian among the early fathers who kindled cool and critical Gibbon into enthusiasm. In physique a man of purely Egyptian descent, he is the most remarkable representative of the Koptic church. Keble characterized this Kopt as royal-hearted and blest with Paul's own mantle; and the resemblance between the flexibility of this first metropolitan of Abyssinia and the many-sidedness of the missionary-apostle to the Gentiles was not paralleled until the time of Xavier, an apostle of Africa and not of India alone. The friend of the Anthony who practically founded Christian monachism, Athanasius brought the monastic system into Europe. In the next generation the attachment of the Egyptian monks to the Alexandrine see became a political institution like the medieval military orders and the

modern Jesuits. The mass of the hermits and the monks consisted of genuine Kopts. The Athanasian or orthodox wing of the Alexandrine church was essentially Egyptian or national. Its Arian branch was essentially Greek. The tenacity of the ancient Egyptian religion caused the Alexandrine church to grapple orthodoxy to its soul with hooks of steel. In the seventh century Egyptian orthodoxy became a robe of Nessus.

It was in the pontificate of Athanasius that the Alexandrine church received its most important accession. About 320 (?) a Tyrian savant named Meropius sailed down the Red Sea on a tour of exploration. He took two youthful nephews, Edesius and Frumentius, with him, in order to enrich their education by travel. On the return voyage the ship touched for water at an Ethiopian port. The savages massacred the crew and the passengers. But two escaped. The boys, faithful to the purpose for which they had been brought, were learning their lessons. Touched by the sight the barbarous natives spared them on account of their tender age, but carried them inland as slaves to the king of Abyssinia. At Axum his capital their royal master discovered their sagacity and talent, and made Edesius his cup-bearer, Frumentius either the keeper of records or administrator of finance. Through this rise into the confidence of king Elaadad, who had bequeathed liberty to the strangers, his death resulted in his widow entrusting the education of the boy-prince to the foreigners. Their valuable services continued till her son came of age. The supreme government was administered by these two citizens of the Roman empire, but Frumentius occupied the chief post. Of the causes that disposed his mind toward Christianity we know nothing. Sozomen in his ignorance explained them as inspirations

directly from God or as divine visions. The young Tyrian is represented to have been seized by an eager desire of making acquaintance with the Christian tenets. He inquired anxiously whether any Christians existed in Abyssinia, or could be found among its Roman visitors. The presence of so many Jews on both sides of the Red Sea renders it probable that as early as 300 Christianity had spread into this region. Frumentius embraced it with ardor, and converted many. He and Edesius took advantage of their royal opportunity. They brought the prince into the Christian faith. When Roman merchants, of whom there were many at the heathen capital, suggested that there ought to be church-services, Frumentius led divine worship. When the prince came of age, his teachers requested permission to return to their dear home-land. The gratitude of the king led him to yield to their urgency. Frumentius, however, filled with the spirit of a missionary, determined to bear the news of this opening for Christianity to the Egyptian center of Christian civilization. The traveler from distant, almost unknown Abyssinia presented himself to Athanasius, and unfolded his tidings. The great churchman leaped as Christian and statesman to the height of the occasion. With his clergy he urged Frumentius on, encouraging him with the question: Who could better than you remove the gross ignorance of this people, and introduce the light of divine truth? The Alexandrine bishop and pope broke through forms, prejudice and technicalities. He induced the Tyrian to accept the mission of Pantænus, apostle of India. He consecrated the layman and stranger to the episcopate at once. He named him Abba Salama, Father Peace. He made him head of the Ethiopic church. Best of all, he sent missionaries with him (A. D. 330?). Frumentius, whom

Dean Stanley not inaptly likened to an earlier Livingstone, prosecuted his apostolate at Axum. Under royal patronage he preached to the heathen. His preaching is said to have been eminently successful not among the Abyssinians alone but among the Blemmyes and Nubians. Before the close of his long and useful life he had built up a strong church. If we can trust tradition, Frumentius with zealous foresight translated the New Testament into Ethiopic or Ghîz. Dillman, the chief authority as to this version, is certain that it was made from the fourth to the sixth century. If Frumentius did not himself perfect this venerable translation, perhaps he set it under way. Between 470 and 480 and in the sixth century the Abyssinian mission received fresh impulse through the immigrations of Egyptian monks. They brought a blessing and a curse. The completion of the Ethiopian version seems to belong to their time. Christianity spread to Nubia and other countries. But the Kopts also brought the vicious system of oriental monachism and the legends and worship of saints, while the end of Ethiopic as the living speech of the people prevented the Bible from exerting great influence over their growth in Christianity. Theodora, the wife of Justinian the Great, Greco-Roman emperor at Constantinople, stretched her malign hand over Abyssinia and sealed it to schism and ultramontanism. In 531 it separated from the Greek church. In no country did Christianity so soon degenerate into a mere form of doctrine. Nevertheless, honor must be rendered to Christian faith of such fiber that it survived a thousand years of isolation and war.

Abyssinia affords one of the earliest instances, if not actually the first instance, of the Christian missionary in the wake of the scientific explorer. It also offered the first

example of a Christian crusade. Christianity had spread not later than 300 into southern Arabia. When (522?) Ibn Nowas usurped the throne of the decaying Himyaritic kingdom, the bigoted and dissolute proselyte to Judaism perpetrated frightful cruelties upon the Christians of Najran who had remained loyal to their faith. One of the intended victims escaped (532?) to Justinian (527–565), and holding up a half-burned gospel invoked righteous vengeance. The Byzantine emperor sent an embassy to the Ethiopian king-of-kings, requesting him to punish the persecutor and usurper. The Arabian churches, however, had already implored his protection, and the Abyssinian monarch had (532) deprived the proselyte of his kingdom and his life. Religious zeal sanctified ambition, as with European princes five centuries later. The gains for Christianity from this Abyssinian holy war were, however, less lasting than those of the European crusades.

The conqueror, having placed a Christian tributary upon the foreign throne, announced the victory of the gospel to the emperor at Constantinople, requested a patriarch and flattered Justinian with professions of friendship for the Roman empire. The Byzantine ambassador found that Christianity had raised the Abyssinians above the level of African barbarism. Elesbaan accepted the Roman alliance, but instead of enlarging his conquests proved incapable of defending them. After long prosperity, the Abyssinian power was overthrown before the gates of Mecca about 567, and finally these Ethiopians were expelled from Arabia. (A. D. 600?) With this heroic episode the Abyssinians and their church disappeared from history. Should it seem as if this narrative of remote and obscure events were foreign to the rise and progress of Christian missions, it must be re-

membered that their modern work in Africa can only be forecast and interpreted by the aid of its ancient missions. Gibbon rightly points out that "if a Christian power had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet [572–632] must have been crushed in his cradle. Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the religious and civil state of the world".

It has been claimed that Ethiopia was the only mission-field of the Egyptian church. The claim is hardly tenable. Alexandria had aided in the evangelization of Libya, Dionysius taking Christianity thither about 250, and Christians from upper Egypt must have carried the gospel into Nubia before 300. Since the Nubians were a race of Negro origin though mixed with Hamitic and Shemitic elements, the mission is of unique historic significance. It is the first occasion when Christianity came into touch with a whole Negro people. All other Africans whom ancient Christianity reached in bulk were either Aryans, Hamites or Shemites. Now that Christianity, commerce and war had brought Abyssinia into the Christian commonwealth, the land between Egypt and Ethiopia proper could no longer be allowed to remain in spiritual isolation. Theodosius, the exiled patriarch of Egypt, while at Constantinople suggested to Theodora, his imperial patron, the conversion of these black nations between ancient Abyssinia and the southern boundary of Egypt. This vast region extends almost from the first to the sixth cataract. Theodora was less, Justinian more, orthodox. He suspected and rivaled her project. A heretical and an orthodox missionary set out at the same time. The priest of Justinian was detained through Theodora's agency; her less orthodox missioner hastily baptized the Nubian king and his court (545) into Egyptian Christianity. When Jus-

tinian's belated envoy arrived, he accused the Egyptians of heresy and treason. The scene presents a curious parallel from old-world life to the treatment of Protestant missionaries by Roman missioners at the court of another king in 1882. The ancient heretic instructed his Negro convert to reply that he would never abandon his brethren, the true believers, to persecuting ministers. Mtesa of Uganda would have laughed, could he have heard this reply of his royal Nubian cousin thirteen centuries ago. The Nubians developed a powerful Christian state in the Nile valley. The Koptic patriarch of Alexandria, for the Nubian church was a fief of the Egyptian one, gloried, whether in rebellion against Roman emperors or in slavery to Muhammadan khalifs, in the obedience of the Ethiopic and Nubian kings as sons of his church. Nubian Christianity must have been a power in the life of this empire, for it withstood all the assaults of Islam for seven hundred years. Not till the thirteenth or fourteenth century could the Arabs overthrow it. Not before 1250 or, possibly, 1320 did the Nubians become Muhammadans.* The fact is one of large religious meaning. The Negro, even when isolated from Christian influences, is not necessarily biased in favor of Islam. On the contrary, he is actually capable of resisting it, and that single-handed.

Before looking for Christian missions in ancient North Africa, completeness requires notice of the most eastern outpost of African Christianity. In the reign of Constantine (306-337) lived Theophilus Indicus, a missionary from Sokotra. Theophilus found Christianity

*Yet Ibn Batutah (v. 4, p. 396, of Defremery and Sanguinetti's edition and French trans., Paris, 1853-8) states that even after 1350 they were Christians. Alvarez declares that in 1520 they were neither Christians, Jews nor Muslims, but still desired to be Christians. Arnold asserts that Christianity did not entirely disappear "before the close of the following [?seventeenth ?] century." Lane (?) certainly erred *if* holding that the Nubians became Islamites at an early date or in wholesale fashion. Thornton, *Africa Waiting*, p. 24, line 30.

already planted in his native land, though he had to correct many errors, and it furnished a channel for his propagation of Christianity in India. Sokotran Christianity and missions justified their existence. Although an Arian he also worked with orthodox Frumentius in Abyssinia about 350. In 1299 Marco Polo stated that "all were baptized" and recognized the authority of an archbishop. At the appearance of the Portuguese in 1503 the Sokotrans still called themselves Christians, and maintained that Thomas, the apostle of Ethiopia and India, had converted their ancestors. The Christianity of Sokotra resembled that of Abyssinia.

In North Africa Christianity spread with such rapidity that in 160 the church of Carthage was flourishing, and about 200 a council of seventy bishops convened. In no part of the empire did Christianity take deeper and more permanent root than along this Mediterranean littoral from the Syrtis to the Atlantic. At Carthage occurred in 202 the first recorded martyrdom of African Christians. These were Felicitas and Perpetua. Of all stories of martyrs Milman thinks that "none abounds in so exquisite touches of nature or breathes such an air of truth and reality" as this martyrdom of two African women. In Africa, too, arose before 200 the first Latin version of the Scriptures, a translation made for missionary purposes. Among the wild Numidian, Getulian and Mauritanian tribes Christianity not later than 250 found an open field for its exertions. As the wild tribesmen became industrious peasants, the increasing agricultural settlements grew into Christian bishoprics. But if Christianity tended to mitigate the fierce spirit of the inhabitants of these burning regions, the hot sun burned itself into the very being and speech of their new faith. Where Christianity outstripped civilization and had not time to

complete its beneficent and humanizing work, it fulfilled the forewarning of Jesus: I came not to send peace but a sword. The savage was only half-tamed. No sooner had Africa kindled the flames of the first civil wars between Christians, than her genuine follower of the Prince of Peace was lost in the fiery, marauding son of the desert. The Puritan and the Romanist, in the worst form of each, originated in North Africa. The Roman persecuted; the Donatist Puritan rebelled. Optatus the Catholic exclaimed: Is the vengeance of God to be defrauded of its victims? Among the Circumcellions, as the barbarous borderers on civilization were called, Donatism became fanatical frenzy. Of Christianity they retained only the language of the Old Testament and a fanatic passion for martyrdom. The feud broke out in 313, distracted the African province for three centuries, paved the way for the Vandals of the fifth and the Saracens of the seventh century, and was only rooted up by Islam's all-destroying besom of conquest. Yet the orthodox stood for the unity of Christendom; the heterodox fought for the freedom of the church from the state; and the Circumcellions were the first to assert the civic equality of all men and to proclaim the abolition of slavery. The religious war also bears directly upon Christian missions in Africa. It shows that as the religion of a savage or uncivilized people Christianity is liable to excesses; that such fanaticism rarely bursts forth into dangerous disorders until goaded and maddened by persecution; above all, that dissension within the church is the greatest hindrance to missions. The conversion of the Garamantians, a Saharan people south of modern Tripolitana, was delayed till 567.

Were ancient African missions failures? At first blush it would seem as if they were. The churches of Egypt

and Ethiopia (including those of Cyrene, Libya and Nubia) have been characterized as lost. The churches of North Africa were finally annihilated. But second sight and sober thought show that the accusation of failure holds more in seeming than in reality, is more shallow and specious than profound and sound. Christianity civilized Abyssinia and made Nubia an African power. If early missions had done nothing else than produce an Athanasius and an Augustine, the one a full-blooded Egyptian, the other a native Numidian, the former the founder of theology proper through his vindication of the divinity of Jesus, the latter the father of western theology through his justification of the ways of God with man — these giants repaid the church and the world a thousand times. Though under Cyril and his successors the Egyptian church sank from bad to worse, the missionary-college and theological seminary of Alexandria had conferred priceless benefits. Though in North Africa the orthodox and the schismatic made their church the scandal of Christendom and a shame to Christianity, Latin Christian learning originated there. In Africa, too, was born one of Rome's bishops, Miltiades, a contemporary (310-314) of Constantine. The African church also claimed independence (425), and a synod at Carthage forbade appeals to Rome. North African Christianity gave birth to Punic Tertullian, Cyprian the martyr, Cecilian and Lactantius as well as to Augustine. Of the twenty most prominent leaders of the Christian church during the third, fourth and fifth centuries, its formative period intellectually, nine were Africans, and others, notably the three great Cappadocians, caught the Alexandrine spirit. The African fathers include Clement, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Dionysius, Athanasius, Didymus, Augustine and Cyril. Perhaps Arius the

Alexandrine Greek ought to be listed, for he kindled a debate whether the divine Son should be characterized as of the same, or as of similar, substance with the Father and thus change the Christ from God to man, which raged from Constantine to Clovis, ranged from Egypt to England and aided in paving the way for Islam.* Six of the Alexandrines and North Africans are such leaders that to parallel them "the church must exhaust her list of men like Ambrose, Basil, Chrysostom, the two Gregories and Jerome, while of Origen and Augustine no other continent has furnished the equals." Cyprian and Augustine did more than any others to shape, the one the polity, the other the theology, of the west. The continent that the churches and commonwealths of Christendom are seeking to enlighten first gave Christianity its intellectual light.

The history of these missions and its philosophy also teach negatively as well as positively. Their lessons are on both sides rich in suggestiveness as to the future of modern missions and their principles.

A negative lesson springs from the fact that no African church possessing the Scriptures in its own language has fallen wholly into Muhammadanism or paganism. The North African church forms only a seeming exception, for the scimitar of the Saracen shattered its Christianity into shards. The Christian churches planted in Arabia by Origen and others withered before the simoom of Islam as much because the Arab Christian had no Arabic Bible as for any other reason. But in the churches of Abyssinia and Egypt God left Himself not without a witness to Islam. Each possessed a version

*This Homoousian-Homoiousian controversy might almost be described as turning on the point of inserting or omitting an *i* (*iota subscript*) between two *o*'s. The Columbia River at its head might be turned from the Pacific toward the Atlantic by a mere pebble.

in its vernacular, while the Nubians might use either. To this cause among many others are partly due the continuance of the Koptic and Ethiopian church, — although for centuries each remained in a condition of suspended animation, — and the long life of Nubian Christianity.

Positive teaching is afforded by the example of the apostolic missions and the experience of these early, pristine churches. This is not the place to enlarge upon the point; discussion of the matter must be deferred; but the sermon of Peter to the Jews at Pentecost, the missionary addresses of Paul to the Gentiles and the handling of the Ethiopian by Philip reveal the secret of success among all classes of Africans.* They contain the method for reaching, for winning the Christian and Jew of Abyssinia, Egypt and North Africa; the earnest, intelligent believer in Islam, Muhammad and the Quran; or the superstitious but teachable worshiper of nature's phenomena and powers. Above all, the last centuries of ancient African Christianity proclaim that a Christian church must be a missionary or die. The churches of Abyssinia and Egypt wasted their strength in metaphysics, — and their lampstand was removed. Augustine warned his fellow-Christians against the fallacy of thinking the second advent of Christ at hand on the ground that the gospel had then been preached throughout the world. "Even in the heart of our own Africa," said he, "how many tribes there are of which we have no knowledge and to which we have no access!" But he pleaded in vain for missions. The faithful of Carthage could instantly raise great ransoms for Christians captured by Saharan pagans, but they did not send Chris-

*This view has since been worked out by Professor Chalmers Martin in *Apostolic and Modern Missions*.

tianity to these heathen. The African church wielded the sword of state rather than that of the Spirit, and perished through the sword. If modern African missions followed in such steps, history must repeat itself. The narrator would turn from them with relief, as the student turns from these with sadness, to their logical sequel. The founding of the church among the Germanic nations (590–800) coincides divinely with the rise of Islam (610–750). Its entrance and the eclipse of the cross by the crescent form the most momentous event between the arrival of Christianity and that of the Portuguese.

CHAPTER 3

A. D. 628 = 1898

ISLAM AS AN AFRICAN MISSIONARY

See now how I rend me;
How mutilated, see, is Mahomet!
Also all others whom thou here beholdest,
Sowers of scandal and of schism have been
While living, and are therefore cleft asunder.

Dante (Longfellow's trans.), *Inferno, xxviii*

AFRICAN ANCESTRY. VARIANCES OF OPINION. (I) ISLAM AS PSEUDO-CHRISTIANITY. JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN GERMS. MUHAMMAD'S EXPERIENCE AND IDEAS. CONNECTIONS WITH CHRISTIANS. CHANGE FROM SPIRITUALITY TO WORLDLINESS. (II) MUSLIM MISSIONS. ERAS, FIELDS AND FEATURES. CONQUEST OF EGYPT. SEVENTY YEARS OF CONFLICT. EAST AFRICA. SAHARA AND SUDAN. SLOWNESS AND SUPERFICIALITY. SOUTH AFRICA. FULAH WAHABISM. SENUSI. MINOR MISSIONS. ISLAM'S LOSSES. (III) RESULTS OF MUSLIM MISSIONS. METHODS. HETERODOXY THE OCCASION FOR MISSIONS. NOMINAL CONVERSION. CRESCENTADES OR HOLY WARS. UNREALITY OF PROSELYTISM. ISLAM NOT RELIGIOUS BUT SOCIAL. CHARACTER OF AFRICAN MUSULMANS. TRUE NUMBERS. ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION. MUSLIM CULTURE AND THE NEGRO. FACTS IN DISPROOF. NEGRO GENIUS. WORTHLESSNESS OF MUHAMMADAN EDUCATION. NEGRO AND ISLAMITE IDEAS OF GOD. SUMMARY OF ISLAM. OUTLOOK FOR ISLAM. CHRISTIANITY'S OPPORTUNITY.

Western Arabia is an eastward expansion of Egypt and Ethiopia. The Red Sea unites rather than sunders Abyssinia and Arabia. The Abyssinians themselves, whose name betrays that they are a mixture of races, consist mainly of the descendants of prehistoric Shemitic immigrants from the Himyaritic Arabs, who incor-

porated Hamite elements and took up a slight strain of Nigritic blood from Negroid African aborigines. Egyptians and Ethiopians came into important personal relations with Muhammad. In Africa his religion has achieved some of its greatest successes, and, perhaps, is the strongest rival of Christianity. Its African sphere of influence forms the largest Muslim land-area in the world. Islam is only less an African than an Asiatic religion. Its bearings upon Christian missions are so direct and vital as to render imperative the fullest examination, the clearest understanding. To obtain this requires mastery of the Book, the Faith and the Prophet.

Muhammadanism is Muhammad. Muhammadanism, in the judgment of Doellinger, "must be considered a Christian heresy, the bastard offspring of a Christian father and Jewish mother, and more closely allied than Manicheism to Christianity, though *that* is reckoned a Christian sect". Islam is here to be provisionally regarded as the unitarian heresy of the east, and studied first in its relations to Christianity and African missions, secondly in its character and career as a missionary religion, and finally in its theological capacity and contents.* Rhetoric and reality, romance and truth have

*Long after this chapter was written its author came across the following passages from Dr George Matheson's *Growth of the Spirit of Christianity*. (Chap. 21, *Protestant Influence of Muhammadanism*). Whatever truth we concede the Quran must, we think, be conceded with divided honors. It does not seem that we are entitled to rank Muhammadanism as altogether an independent religion. Its spirit was really lit by that of Christianity. If the religion of Christ had never existed, that of Muhammad would never have been born. The Arabian prophet admitted the miraculous origin of the Christian faith. He recognized in Christ supernatural birth and second advent. He did not admit His suffering, holding that before the cross, He was caught to heaven; yet this is not much inferior to the Christianity of Jewish sects in the early church. We can not give Muhammad or his teaching a place outside the Christian system, and are not sure that his doctrines ought not to be treated rather as ecclesiastical heresies than as *new* fountains of error. (v. 1, p. 334) . . . In the breaking of images, in sweeping away obstacles to the realization of God's unity, Muhammad was at one with the spirit of Luther—a true Protestant—a forerunner of the reformation. But this was the destructive side. Muhammad's Protestanism was but a negative creed, yet real. We must not blame Muhammad for not being Luther. We can not say that up to the measure of his destined work he failed to fulfil the office of a prophet. (v. 1, p. 337, abridged and condensed). . . . The world has outgrown the facts of his revelation, but the subsequent growth of

done their best and wreaked their worst upon this Arabian faith. Bosworth Smith, Blyden and Canon Taylor have powerfully pleaded its cause. Blerzey, Palgrave and Renan have exposed its untruths and weaknesses. We shall do best to turn away from the polemics of partisans, such as missionaries, theologians and travelers, to scholars and students — August Mueller, Theodor Noeldeke, Wilhelm Spitta, Dean Stanley and Wellhausen. With their help and that of history we shall be able to adjudge the claims of the canonizer and the devil's-advocate, and to award generous justice to Islam's work and worth in Africa.

I

*Islam as Pseudo-Christianity**

Muhammad might trace his lineage through Ishmael to Abraham. Whether the genealogy be genuine, — and Schaff characterized Islam as bastard Judaism from Ishmael and Esau — the spiritual genealogy runs back to the Hebrew Friend of God and his Egyptian wife. Ishmael, too, married an Egyptian. Hamite as well as Shemitic blood flowed in the veins of Muhammad, and among his wives were an Abyssinian widow and a Koptic maid. Abraham's belief in God, a true if unfinished monotheism, survived in the nobler minds of Arabia, though defiled and distorted, to Christian, even to Muhammadan times, possibly re-enforced from Judaism and

Christendom was partially owing to the impulse the early vigor of Muhammadanism imparted to its life. (p. 337) . . . To the followers of the prophet belongs the honor of having rekindled the learning of Europe. (p. 341). Muhammadanism is the parent of European commerce. (p. 343) . . . As the religion of the prophet had caught the fire of Egyptian learning, it caught the light of Christian charity. To Muhammadan charity in turn Europe is indebted for its first lunatic asylums. (p. 346)

*Pseudo-Christianity, by definition, is a counterfeit of Christianity. From 610 to 622 Islam was this. *Pseudo* implies deceptiveness of appearance, function or relation. It indicates deceptive likeness in things really unlike, yet implies a resemblance so close as to obscure real differences. In action and result Islam is anti-Christianity.

Christianity. In the sixth century seekers after God rejected polytheism and acknowledged Allah. They attempted to go back to the simple faith of Abraham. They adopted the life set before them for centuries by Christian hermits. Among them were a cousin of Muhammad and two cousins of his wife who became Christians. The Penitents (*Hanif*) identified faith in one God with resignation and surrender (*Islam*) to His will. Their monotheism allied itself with the sense of moral responsibility and of a judgment. It gave an impulse to righteousness. It possessed some primal ideas of the law and the gospel.

Such beliefs found fruitful soil in Muhammad. Seized with deep feelings of dependence on the almighty and omnipresent God and of responsibility toward Him, he resolved to be an apostle of truth. He was influenced by Jewish prophets and, perhaps, by acquaintance with their Messianic hope. To adapt his name to the word, Paraclete, the title by which Jesus predicted the coming of an advocate after Him, Muhammad called himself Ahmad or the praised one. Jesus, Muhammad affirmed, had foretold that one should come to complete His mission. He designated His successor as Paraclitos, the praised one. Muslims maintain that this term was perverted into Paracletos, the advocating one. Muhammadan theologians therefore assert that Jesus designated Muhammad. The latter was profuse in assurances that his system corresponded with the Old and New Testaments, and that he had been foretold by former prophets. What Moses had taught to the Jew and Jesus to the Christian, Muhammad claimed to teach to the Arab. He never expressed the slightest doubt as to the authority or genuineness of the Scriptures.

To the Jews Muhammad was indebted for almost all

the stories and many of the laws in the Quran. This, with strange misunderstandings, gives a large part of pre-Christian religious history. Moses, *e. g.*, was a black man! Abraham is represented as directing his children about Islam, the true religion, and is accounted the first Penitent (*Hanif*), the founder of the Muslim faith in its present form. From the Christian anchorites and Daily-Baptizers (*Tsabi*) of the Syrian desert who represented Christianity in primitive forms Muhammadanism derived externals. Muhammad himself uttered many statements as to Jesus. He never saw the New Testament. He never came into touch with pure and true Christianity. He obtained his information about it solely through conversation with Jews and heretical Christians. Yet he bowed in reverence before Jesus. He believed Allah to have said: "We caused Isa, son of Miriam, to follow Our apostles.* We gave Him the gospel. We put kindness and compassion into the hearts of those who followed Him, but the monastic life they themselves invented. . . He hath sent thee a Book [the Quran] confirming what was sent before, and for the guidance of men hath aforetime revealed the law and the gospel." Muhammad called Jesus Isa; the son of Mary; the Messiah; the Messenger of God; the Prophet of God, illustrious in this world and the next; the Servant of God; a Spirit from God; the Word of Truth; the Word of God. He taught that Jesus was miraculously born of a virgin, performed miracles, was commissioned as a prophet to confirm the law and reveal the gospel, and did not die but miraculously ascended to heaven. Christ's disciples disputed whether He were a prophet or a part of the Godhead making up the Trinity of Father, Mother and Son! Tradition (the *un*inspired record of

*Notice the plural of majesty of "Allah" as evinced by "We" and "Our."

Muhammad's "inspired" sayings outside the Quran) adds that Jesus will come a second time, be the judge of the world at the last day, and judge even Muhammad himself.*

During the first or Meccan period (610–622) of his prophetship Muhammad and his followers looked upon the Abyssinian Christians as their religious kinsmen.† "Yonder," he said to some of his persecuted converts without protectors, and, as he spake, pointing westward: "Yonder lieth a land where none is wronged. Go thither, and remain till the Lord open a way". Dean Stanley noted this connection between the Abyssinian Christians and the first Muslims. He wrote: "Springing out of the same oriental soil and climate, if not from the bosom of the oriental church itself, in part under its influence, in part by reaction, Muhammadanism must be regarded as an eccentric, heretical form of eastern Christianity. This was the ancient mode of regarding Muhammad. He was considered not the founder of a new religion but, rather, one of the chief heresiarchs of the church". Through accepting Jesus as the promised Messiah of the Old Testament, granting full credence to the original text of the Scriptures and claiming to have been predicted by Christ as the fulfiller of the Christian dispensation, Muhammad allied himself with Christianity rather than with Judaism.‡ Not a few Muslims fled (614–615?)

**The Encyclopedia of Missions*, v. 2, p. 119, col. 1, lines 67–70. The Reverend W. H. Hulbert, formerly professor of church-history at Lane Theological Seminary and subsequently on the staff of the Syrian Protestant College, is authority for this. In a personal letter he says: "The article simply stated that Tradition says so and so. Doctor Smith's *Bible and Islam*, p. 285, says: 'Tradition goes counter to the tenor of the Quran when it makes Jesus judge at the resurrection,' and refers in a footnote to Pocock's *Notae Miscellaneæ* (*Works*, I, p. 213) and Rueling's *Eschatologie des Islam*. In absence from books I can not refer to the exact tradition. My article pushes the point out of proportion, but is true to fact. Doctor James Dennis writes: 'There is authority for your statement, but I can not give the proper reference'".

†All Muslim dates are in this book given in Christian chronology.

‡Dr Preserved Smith's *Bible and Islam* and Arnold's *Preaching of Islam* (both of which appeared subsequently to the completion of this work) appear to justify its conclusions. Dr Smith finds that for the most part the doctrines of Muhammad originated in the younger rather than the elder theism, and seem-

to Ethiopia. Soon a second migration occurred. A hundred of the Faithful finally found refuge in Abyssinia. Both bands of exiles met with a friendly reception, and some of the refugees remained until 629. The year before (628) Muhammad had made the first missionary effort that was strictly foreign. He wrote peaceful letters to the Abyssinian king, the Byzantine emperor and the Egyptian governor, courteously requesting them to embrace Islam. If the Christians had been Christ-like and wise, they would have embraced the opportunity for Christian missions. It is an interesting fact that among the few words of Christian origin in the Quran some, including Shaitan or Satan, came from Abyssinia. Ethiopia also gave the first proclaimer-of-prayer (*muezzin*) to Islam. Bilal, a black slave whose Negro features perhaps justify the assertion of enthusiasts that he was a true Negro, added the clause, "prayer is better than sleep", to Muhammad's prayer-call. He is therefore better known to orientals from the Atlantic to the Pacific than even Alexander the Great. Another curious circumstance is that the nineteenth section of the Quran, treating of John the Baptist and Jesus, was, if we may trust Muhammadan tradition, sent to the Christian king of Abyssinia. The balance of probability inclines to the view that Arabic must have been understood if not spoken there. We may well believe that the Ethiopic Christians compared these statements with the true accounts in their own version of the Scriptures. Abyssinia remained Christian.

As late as 621 Muhammad retained a feeling of solidarity with the Christians. But success at Medina

ingly regards Islam as in many respects a counterpart of medieval Christianity. Merensky's *Muhammadanismus und Christenthum im Kampfe um die Negerlaender Afrika's*, apparently corroborates the views in the concluding portions of this chapter. Professor Duncan Macdonald even calls "Islam simply Calvinism"!

(622-632) wrecked his character, and half-ruined his religion. The descendants of Isaac would not yield their claim to that of the son of Ishmael. The ancient quarrel between Israel and Esau could not be appeased. The Jewish rejection of Muhammad as a prophet rendered him their bitter foe. The final break with Judaism came about 625. The Quran contains much less against Christians than Jews, but about 629 Muhammad had moved to the position expressed afterward by these petitions from his dying prayer: "The Lord destroy the Jews and the Christians! Be His anger kindled against those who turn the tombs of their prophets into places of worship!" From truth Muhammad, deceiving himself and delivered to blindness, turned to falsehood, force and fraud; from the Quran to the sword. He led the way in diverting Islam from divine to human objects. Henceforth it in effect became anti-Christianity. Though among a few he had wrought a marvelous and mighty work for religion, he really brought very little spiritual conviction to Arabia. As a religion Islam did not attract the Arabs. Almost from the first, spirituality was alloyed at Medina with worldliness. Since Islam in every essential feature received its present shape from Muhammad while prince as well as prophet, we read its African character and foresee its African career in the mirror of Medina. Here it lost its genuine Godliness and ethical quality. In the largest measure it became merely a drill for the masses. Less importance was attached to faith than to profession. Change of heart had no share in the conversion of the bulk of Arabia. Material success was the chief force that attracted new adherents. The dogma, No God but the one God, constituted the creed and became watch-word and war-cry. Prayer took the shape of military exercises. The mosque

formed a parade-ground. Muhammad made the Muslims a military brotherhood. Ambitious men used this religious movement for secular purposes and temporal triumphs. Its want of spiritual fruitfulness was chiefly due to the final character of Muhammad himself.*

II

Muhammadan Missions

The career of Islam in Africa falls into three large periods. Each stands out in bold relief. Each is clearly defined by broad landmarks and by historical factors. Yet each merges into the others on one side or at some period. The first era extends from 610 to 750. Its sphere of influence comprised Abyssinia, Egypt, East Africa (in part) and the Mediterranean littoral. It is the ancient, Saracen era. It is doubly remarkable and significant. It not only introduced a new religion and "civilization", but inaugurated the first large and veritable partition of Africa among a foreign people, and in Barbary and Egypt made Islamry a counterpoise to Christendom. The second era falls between 750 and 1750, the latter date being that of the conversion of the Swahili of the Zanguebar coast. It is notable for a great Arab migration from Egypt to Barbary, for another from Arabia into Sudan and for the swarming of Persians along the Zanguebar littoral. The regions that fell under this medieval influence of Islam included Sahara, Sudan (in isolated parts), Somalia and Zanguebar. The third and modern era began in 1750. Its noteworthy features consist of a revival of Islam by the Fulah and the Senusiya; the Mahdist uprising in Egypt; the march

* "The deeper the study of Muhammad goes, the less it is to his advantage." Prof. D. B. Macdonald, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, v. 12, no. 1 (Oct. 1895), p. 115.

of the Muslim merchant to the inland seas, to the sources of the Kongo, Nile and Zambesi and (in the north-west) to the Atlantic and the Gulf of Guinea; the resultant expansion of the Muhammadan slave-trade; and the downfall of Islam's political power. In Egyptian Sudan and Bantu Africa the modern Muhammadan has made no permanent propaganda, even when missions have been attempted. In Guinea, however, in Senegambia and in Western Sudan the crusader and the merchant, the two missionaries of Islam, have made large but not lasting gains.

It falls as little within the scope of this book to write a history of Islam as of Christian churches in Africa. Yet the Muhammadanism of modern Egypt and North Africa can not be appraised aright without at least a glance at its ancient entry. Its method and spirit then are mainly one with the measures and temper of to-day.

In 638 Amru entered Egypt.* Within two years he mastered it, and as early as 642 he had attacked not only Nubia but Tripoli. Yet had not the Kopts betrayed Egypt and Christianity, the Saracens must have retreated. The Egyptian belief in the oneness of the nature of the God-man predisposed them to hospitality toward the Muslim view of the unity of God. From motives of policy Islam compromised with Koptic Christianity, preferred tribute to conversion, and tolerated Christianity's existence. The Egyptian revenues were allotted no less to the Muslim state than to the propagation of Islam. Arabs had lived in Egypt from B. C. 2000, but with the Saracen conquest came a considerable immigration from Arabia. This accession and, in succeeding centuries, the secession of many Kopts at length made Islam nominally the religion of Egypt.

* Arnold (*Preaching of Islam*, p. 87) says 640.

From Egypt to the Atlantic, Islam, it has been claimed, swept like a whirlwind. A "whirlwind" of conquest that required seventy years to consolidate and consummate itself scarcely possesses the speed and thoroughness attributed to Islam by its canonizers. Abdullah invaded Tripoli in 647; Akbah penetrated Mauritania in 677; but their victories were valueless. The African church did not succumb to a single stroke of the Saracen scimitar. Christian civilization fought for its life. It was not till 754 that the conversion of the infidels abolished their tribute.* Ibn Khaldun, a Muhammadan historian, states that the former Christians apostatized from Islam fourteen times. The conversion of the Berber at the point of the sword was so shallow and to devout Muslims so unsatisfactory that these African proselytes have always been heterodox, if not utter heretics in the eyes of the orthodox Muhammadans.† The forbidden pig and the vine have continued to furnish food and drink to the Berber. Their fanaticism for Islam is less a religious than a racial trait. In North Africa the Saracen domain remained for centuries a mere hand-breadth between the sea and the wilderness, the Arabs themselves calling it the sleeve of their robe of empire. Here, as in Egypt, Saracen "civilization" was but the phantom of false morning, the transient light on the horizon an hour before dawn.

In East Africa it was 740 when Islam established itself independently. A large immigration spread over the Abyssinian and Somal coast-lands between Sawakin and Berbera. The settlers among the Somali along the Straits of Bab-El-Mandeb and the Gulf of Aden converted some of these tribes, but expelled the others.

* Cf. Arnold, pp. 103-111.
† Cf. Arnold, pp. 258-262.

The colonies on the Ethiopian coast of the Red Sea hemmed in Abyssinia, whose isolation after the loss of its littoral in the thirteenth century resulted in barbarism.* East Africa between Capes Guardafui and Delgado also afforded a field for the expansion of Islamry. Here, however, Muhammadanism, introduced by Arab and Hindi traders who took only the slightest interest in missions, has all along been of milder type. Until 1807 it clung timidly to the coast. The traders, immigrants and exiles behaved peaceably to the natives. The Muhammadan inhabitants cared only for trade, making little effort to proselyte others than their retainers. Most of their "civilization" was due to Persians of Shiraz, fleeing from religious persecution. The fact that the Swahili (meaning, 'Longshoremen) were not converted to Islam before 1700 (1725?) leads one student to characterize its missionary side in East Africa as an utter failure. To-day, however, the Anglo-German shore, it is claimed, wavers between Christ and Muhammad.

Islam's medieval phase is supposed to have opened (800-825) with the winning of several Negro (?) tribes to the faith†. About 1100 Yusuf of Marocco influenced the Negroes, but Timbuktu (refounded 1213) is said to have received Islam from Egypt. It entered Gao, down the Niger, in 1009; Melli about 1025; and Silla fifteen

*"Up to the tenth century only a few Muhammadan families were in the coast-towns, but at the end of the twelfth century the foundation of an Arab dynasty alienated some of the coast-lands from the Abyssinian kingdom. In 1300 a missionary [?] made his way into Abyssinia; in the following year, having collected two hundred thousand men, he attacked the ruler of Amhara". [!] Arnold, p. 97.

†In *Islam as a Missionary Religion* Haines writes: "A holy war [c. 1050?] brought the whole of northern Sahara to accept the new modification of Islam. Among the tribes *thus* converted were the Lamtuna. . . . The first attempt from the north upon the independence of the Negroes proper was, if we may trust Leo Africanus, made in the first quarter of the ninth century. Several tribes bordering on Libya were won for the faith by the Berber Lamtuna". Query: Where does Haines limit Libya? Were genuine Negroes then in Marocco or in Algeria or in Fezzan? I am unable to grasp his idea; but Spruner places the Lamtuna in western Sahara between the Atlas range and the Senegal river. Arnold calls them "one of the Berber tribes of Sahara".

years later. Between 1085 and 1100 Hume, the first king of Bornu, extended Islam almost to Egypt. Yet the real progress was so slow and superficial that it took centuries to bring Fur, Kanem, Kordo, Sokotu and Wadai under the influence of Islam. Jinne did not receive Islam before 1200, while the king of Katsena, in Sokotu near Sahara, was converted only in the sixteenth century. About 1040 occurred the migration of two hundred and fifty thousand Arabs from Lower Egypt to North Africa; about 1050 that of other nomad Bedawin from Upper Egypt toward West Africa. The period of the greatest Arab immigration was that following the crusades.* The main expansion of medieval Islam in Africa thus falls between the years 1095 and 1300. Islam is known to have entered Kanem, a Saharo-Sudanese state north and east of Lake Chad; Sonrhai, along the Niger from Timbuktu to Sokotu River; and, probably, among the Fulah also, a Berber folk of Senegal, — between 1100 and 1300. The two Egyptian streams converged at Lake Chad, one from Tripoli through Fezzan and Tibesti, the other from Nubia through Kordo, Fur and Wadai; while either Arabs or Berbers of Marocco journeyed to the Niger and made Timbuktu the intellectual and theological capital of western Sudan. Islam, therefore, crossed Sahara probably as early as 1200. Perhaps it is to the seventeenth, possibly the sixteenth, century that Tibesti in eastern Sahara owes its annexation to Islamry; but the Berber Tuareg of central Sahara, though accepting the faith of Muhammad in the tenth century, had by long and obstinate resistance earned their Arabic name of God-forsaken.†

* *Cf.* chapter four, pp. 90 and 100 *sq.*

† The merchants of Kordo and East Sudan claim descent from Arabs who left Egypt in the twelfth century. In the fourteenth century, so Arnold asserts (p. 263), the Tungur Arabs made their way from Tunis through Bornu and Wadai to

The westering of Sudanese Muhammadanism was anything but speedy. Christianity in Nubia did not succumb or apostatize to Islam before 1325, the period when Kordo became Muhammadan.* Nor have the Nubian Musulmans spread their faith, for when Senaar, their southern neighbor on the Blue Nile, became a Muslim kingdom in 1500, it was through others. This powerful kingdom was founded by the Funj Negroes. Zeila, a Somal port near Bab-El-Mandeb straits; some of the inland Somali; and Harar, a Somal city, the largest African town between Khartum and Zanzibar, did not receive Islam before 1400 (1430?) It was 1625 or, possibly, 1650 when Fur professed acceptance of Muhammadanism. In Wadai the Africanized Arab gained supreme power only after 1675. Not till the middle of the last century of Islam's medieval career, could it claim (1700) to have clinched its grip on central Sudan and also on western Sudan between the Joliba and Kwara (Quorra) river or the first and second reaches of the Niger. Yet Adamawa and Bagirmi, the southernmost states of Sudan and peopled by the veriest Negroes, have only been touched at the edge by Islam, have ever remained pagan.

Madagascar and Sofala as spheres of Muslim missions require only mention. Marco Polo wrote (1299) that the islanders were all Saracens. But his account of the

Fur. To Islam's gain in Sahara and Sudan Arnold assigns these dates: Kanem, *c.* 1050; Sonrhai, *c.* 1009; the Fulah, early; Bagirmi, Fur, Kano, Katsena and Wadai, the seventeenth century. As Sakassi, Sonrhai's first Islamite king (*c.* 1009), was its fifteenth monarch, *these Negroes had been a civilized state for centuries ere Islam came.* The Mandingo Negroes founded Melli about 1250. Kano is said to have been founded about 950, but its first thirty-one kings with but a single Muslim exception were pagans. Abdul Karim founded Wadai about 1612. Nachtigal found the Baele and the Teda (Tibesti), among whom as among the Galla the Senusi sustain missions, to be but nominal Muslims.

*In 1527 Alvarez, a Portuguese priest and traveler in Abyssinia, reported that the Nubians desired still to be Christians! Ethiopia was stretching forth her hands to God, but—. Arnold admits that in the sixteenth century the Nubians were not yet Islamites. (pp. 94-96). Arabia to-day is annually sending several hundred missionaries into Gallaland and Somalia. Though not unsuccessful among the Galla, they succeed better among the Somal.

Malagasi civilization really describes that of the mainland, where alone in East Africa the Arabs held settlements in the interior. Islam attempted little if any proselyting among the natives between Cape Delgado and Delagoa Bay or up the Zambezi. If it ever existed in Madagascar, it has been dead for centuries. Those who believe that when Islam has once fastened on a people, it never loses its grip, must explain this default. Abyssinia, Cape Colony and Kufra also show that the missionary spirit of medieval Muhammadanism had become a spent wave. In 1541 Ahmad Gragne (the left-handed) invaded Abyssinia with his Muhammadan (?) Gallas, equipped with fire-arms; but Christovao Gama, son of the famous seaman, with his four hundred Portuguese Christians saved the Ethiopian empire.* The Dutch of Cape Town, who professed to be Protestant Christians, imported Islam in the person of Malay slaves. Their free descendants number fifteen thousand, and include a few Hottentots. South African Christianity was then so Islamic in theology that it lacked the missionary idea. It allowed or compelled the Hottentot to remain heathen, the Malay to die a Muslim. Kufra, a Libyan oasis only three hundred and forty miles south of the Mediterranean, remained in reality as well as name the land of the unbeliever (*kafir*), until, about 1750, Muhammadan Arabs expelled the pagan Tibbu.

This medieval era was closed by the rulers of Mascat. Between 1698 and 1807 they mastered the eastern coast from Cape Delgado to Mukhdisho. The Swahili, a cross between the Arab and the Bantu, were converted only in the eighteenth century (1700-1725), though Islam had

*An Abyssinian monk who wrote at the time characterized the Galla invaders as pagans. (*History of the Galla*; ed. and trans. into German by A. W. Schleicher, Berlin, 1891). Arnold (p. 265) remarks: "African Muslims' condition during the eighteenth century seems to have been almost one of religious indifference". Omit "almost" and for "seems to have been" read *was*.

been dominant among the Arabs of East Africa for nine hundred years. Here from first to last it has never been a religious force.

If the medieval missions of Islam expired with this Arab reconquest of East Africa, the *quasi* revival of modern Muhammadanism owed its origin in West Africa directly to Arabia, indirectly to Barbary. In this instance, however, the Muslim influence was not political but religious. Though Islam had come among the Fulah centuries before, the eighteenth century had arrived ere the masses became Muhammadan. Between 1730 and 1815 the Wahabi of central Arabia attempted to reform Islam. It is significant that Wahabism might almost be called an African product. It was the revival in a new form of the doctrines of Ibad, who lived a thousand years before Wahab.* His sect had survived as the Mzabi of Algeria, Tunis, and Tripolitana, whose dogma and rites ally them with the Wahabi. Fundamentally the Ibadite teachings represent an older religious evolution than do those of other sectarians, actually allowing the will some freedom.

About 1775 Uthman-dan-Fodie, a Fulah of Gober, made a pilgrimage to Mecca. There he became inoculated with Wahabism. Hence the rise of the Fulah ran parallel with the latter course of the Wahabi movement. Uthman transformed them from herdsmen to warriors. In 1802, according to Muhammad the Tunisian, his fellow-religionist, he invented the pretext of religious reform as a cloak for ambition, and inaugurated the holy war.† The Fulah accused the Sudanese Muslims of impiety and heresy, and shed the blood of "true" believers

*Macdonald maintains that this Abd Allah ibn Ibad was of the Arab tribe of Tamim; and that his dogmas and sect spread to central Arabia, then to Oman, and thence to Zanguebar and Northwest Africa! Cf. Reclus, vol. 2, p. 310.

†Cf. Arnold, pp. 265-267.

as cheerfully as that of pagans. They subdued central Sudan, and established a Muhammadan Puritanism. Uthman deprecated excess of veneration for Muhammad; denounced honor to departed saints and prayers for the dead; and anathematized drunkenness and licentiousness, the dominant sins of Sudanese Islamry. Ilorin was founded by him, but "most of the inhabitants are still pagans." Uthman founded the Sokotu empire, extending almost from the Atlantic to Lake Chad and from the Binwe river to Sahara. After 1805 the Mandingo and Yolof Negroes of the Joliba basin joined Islam or, rather, the Fulah. Between the Kong highlands and Sahara, the Atlantic and the Niger, despite a few peaceful exceptions, the Muhammadan conquests have been achieved by brute force.* Since 1850 the influence and power of these Muslim commonwealths have greatly decayed, but Islam has at last reached the sea at several points. At Lagos and Sierra Leone, *e. g.*, it pursues, perforce, a peaceful propaganda. It is claimed that in the former region its adherents increased through immigration from twelve hundred in 1865 to thirty thousand in 1886.

It is to North Africa that we must look for a more formidable if less familiar organization of modern Muslim missionaries. This did not consist of the enterprise of Abd-ul-Kader, the able, devout and heroic Algerian who from 1832 to 1847 strove to call forth the capabilities of the Arabs and to recall them to religious duty. It does not consist of the Mahdist movement in Egyptian Sudan; still less of the religious emissaries as to whom the periodical press from time to time publishes airy notices that the Osmanli government and theologians are dispatching and subsidizing Muhammadan missioners

*Adamawa arose in 1837.

for Africa.* It consists of the Senusiya of Sahara, a religious empire comprising one and a half millions of men, and extending from Malaysia to Senegambia.† Every year its chief sends out hundreds of missionaries. In a few weeks he can mobilize an army ten times more enthusiastic, tenfold stronger, than the Mahdists of 1884. It has been asserted that but for Europe the Sudanese Mahdi would have won an African empire as large, powerful and wealthy as that of the medieval African Mahdis. The assertion fails to reckon with the Senusiya. They opposed the Mahdi as an impostor, and prevented the westward extension of his power. Real danger to European influence in Sudan might have arisen if the Senusiya had allied themselves a generation ago with Umar, Samory or Ahmadu, as these successively extended Islam in French Sudan or in west Sudan.

In 1843 Senusi, an Algerian sheikh driven from Mecca on account of his pure life and principles, took refuge temporarily at Benghazi on the Barkan coast. After founding military monasteries here, his order having arisen in 1837, he withdrew (1855) to Jaghbub. This is in the oasis of Faredgha. Although within the western boundary of Egypt and only one hundred and fifty miles from the Mediterranean, it lies on a borderland of the Libyan plateau where no Egyptian khedive, no Turkish sultan exercises authority. Here is the true head of modern Islam's hostile movement against the giaour or infidel. It became such partly through its almost central position for African propaganda and through remoteness from European interference, but chiefly from Wahabi fanaticism and reaction. Senusi and, since

*Paulitschke in 1888 asserted that over one thousand missionaries annually left Tripoli for Sudan. (*Harar*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 331).

†Cf. Arnold, pp. 273-5. Religious orders form a feature in North Africa's Islamic life.

1859, his son developed their projects in secrecy. The sheikh is the undisputed head of the sect, blindly obeyed by the monastic orders of the Muslim world. The brethren are all in his hands as the corpse in those of the undertaker. The Senusi brotherhood is the Jesuit order of Islam. The monks regard the Senusi sheikh as the well-guided one, the true Mahdi to restore the Muslim power. Outwardly the Senusiya profess to aspire to no political aim. Their ideal goal consists in the federation of the orthodox religious orders into one theocratic body, independent of secular authority. They discountenance violence. To Muhammadans in districts under Christian sway they recommend not revolt but withdrawal to Senusi convents. None the less, despite this ostensible condemnation of political agitation, the Senusiya aim at absolute independence. Their houses, at once church and school, arsenal and hospital, are found in the Libyan oases, Fezzan, Tripoli and Algeria, in Senegambia, Sudan and Somalia. They are reported to number one hundred and twenty-one. Organization and solidarity have brought more conquests than arms, have rendered them more formidable than restless tribes ripe for revolt. Yet the arsenals, barracks, depots, monasteries and other extensive structures of Faredgha contain enough modern fire-arms to render the Senusi forces redoubtable foes for any European army. Such, at least, is the claim. At any rate the Muhammadans of Barbary are a seething hot-bed of religious conspiracy. If they possessed capacity for cohesion, they might constitute a danger to Europe. At present, however, Wadai perhaps forms the center of propagandism. The Senusiya won its adherence by ransoming slaves and sending them home as missionaries of the holy cause. The brotherhood was in power in Wadai as late as 1890, the sultan

being simply their place-holder, and his two million six hundred thousand subjects being affiliated to the Jaghbub Mahdi's pan-Islamic order. But these followers of the prophet and their rival fellows in the Faith have since been at each others' throats. Whether the Senusi Mahdi or the Sudanese Khalif was in 1895 master of Wadai no man knows.

Muhammad Uthman of Mecca proselytized from 1835 to 1853 in Kordo and Senaar, in both of which, Arnold confesses, "many tribes were still pagan". He founded the Amirghani order, which, since his death (1853), has carried his work. The Sudanese rising has incorrectly been attributed to the preaching of Egyptian orders arousing religious fervor. In West Africa the Qadriya and the Tijaniya have proved especially instrumental in propagating Islam. The former, founded in the twelfth century, entered West Africa in the fifteenth century. During this century it has tolerantly, peacefully evangelized West Sudan. The latter, founded at Algiers about 1800, invaded Sudan about 1850, and uses sword as well as schoolmaster. Umar of Futa-Toro from 1855 to 1865 repeatedly led hosts in holy war against the pagans of the upper Niger and the Senegal. In spite of centuries of Muslim contact, great masses remained pagan. Very few traces of his armed propaganda survive. At the Kimberley diamond-mines Hindi Muslim coolies are reputed to spread Islam.

This exhausts the modern missionary movement of Islam in Africa. Its gains in Abyssinia between 1800 and 1850 have been largely lost. Its advances among the Galla and Somali have been most partial and unlasting.* The Egyptian advance of 1820-75 from Nubia to Uganda was of a commercial and political character. It

*Cf. Arnold, pp. 97-103; 267, 275, 282, 283 and 284.

did not expand Islam. Nubia, Senaar, Kordo and Fur had for centuries been Muhammadan in name, while in the central provinces of Bahr-al-Ghazal and Equatoria Islam, according to Schnitzer (Emin Pasha), made scarcely ten proselytes during the years 1864-84. Even the Mahdist movement was much more due to economic and social causes than to religious zeal. These the Mahdi and his successor turned to the furtherance of ambition; and this in turn is now being throttled. Still less can the half-caste Zanzibari Musulmans of the great lakes and the Kongo be considered apostles of Islam. Neither in purpose nor result were they such. Their object was trade in ivory and in "black ivory". When at last the Muhammadan slavers of East Africa encountered the slave-raiders from Sudan at Welle River, in darkest Africa's inmost heart, they cut each other to pieces. Fit emblem, fit ending, of Muslim missions in Africa!

III

Results of Muslim Missions

The method of Islam reveals its character and the secret of its success, with its extent and outlook, its strength and weakness. Muhammadanism has established itself by opposite methods. Peaceful persuasion as well as martial missions has not been unused; but no word for missionary occurs in the Quran, and the purely missionary element has always remained of secondary importance. Muhammad announced that wars to spread Islam could never cease till Anti-Christ appeared. The prevalent Muslim view holds that the holy war is the distinctive feature of Islam. The Quran teems with commands to fight. Muhammadanism regards the sword as the best missionary. Within Islamry genuine mission-

spirit is mainly the product of the nineteenth century. Hitherto its true preacher had been the crusader.

The sweeping but seeming success in Egypt and North Africa twelve centuries ago was due, above all, to the hatred and hostility between Christians, the eclecticism of Islam and the worldliness of Muslim leaders. The Egyptian Christians seceded from the church and the empire. Islam, recognizing dogmas held by Christianity and Judaism, required "the peoples of the Book" rather to modify than surrender their former faiths. The majority of the Saracen chiefs preferred tribute to conversion.

Tradition relates that Muhammad said: "It will happen to my people as to Israel. They were divided into seventy-two sects; my people will be divided into seventy-three. Of these all will go to hell except one." The prophet erred in his forecast of the forces that should break the staff of Islam. Abd-ul-Kader numbered one-hundred and fifty Muslim sects, and their shadings make them infinite. The importance of this sectarianism consists in the success of the schismatics measuring and proving the failure of the sword. The Berbers furnish a remarkable illustration of Islam's lack of true success in North Africa. Until 700 they had with equal ease accepted Islam and spued Islam. Between that time and 725 the Kharijites or Dissenters, Muslims who had remained true to the first and pure form of Islam, inoculated the Berber with their views and made numerous proselytes. Hitherto the Berber had been looked upon by orthodox Islamites as most doubtful Muslims; now they found that they had always been good Muhammadans! Sect swarmed upon sect, and gave birth to dynasty after dynasty. These political and theological variances originated medieval Muslim missions. But

several of the sects abrogated Islam, and others tried to abolish it. The medieval proselytes in Sahara and Sudan must have proved but heterodox Muhammadans.

The missionaries generally addressed themselves first to the ruler, whose conversion rendered him a lever for that of the people. No change of heart and life was or is required. The poverty of the Muslim creed, for a parrot can repeat the words if it can not understand their sense; the publicity of worship; the missionary character of many merchants; the oneness of the Arab and the Berber with the Negro in his home and state; and the adjustments, the compromises of Muhammadanism with pagan belief and conduct constitute moral and social causes for success. But in every instance where propaganda began peacefully, persuasion proved too slow for Islam's hot blood; coercion or persecution ensured final acceptance of the Faith. As to the proselytes, Muhammad of Tunis, an Arab traveler, observed that the Muslim missionaries accept the most imperfect conversions.

The holy war once proclaimed, the procedure of the Quran is followed.* Infidels are summoned to embrace the Faith or to capitulate. Conversion, even with sword in hand, is valid and renders the convert inviolable in person and property. But the infidel prisoner may be slain, or with wife and children be sold as a slave. Apostates must never be spared; men being put to death and their property confiscated, women suffering shame. Slave-raids, to become not merely permissible but duties, have only to claim that they are holy wars. The African successors of Amru have not always been faithful to

*_El Jihad_ or the holy war is preferable to crescentade. This may be used as a rhetorical antithesis to crusade, but technically it almost forms an anachronism. The crescent of Islam's banner is Turkish alone, and came into vogue only after the fall of Constantinople in 1452.

precedent. Muhammad the Tunisian mourned that in Wadai his fellow-Muslims "without any attempt at peaceable proselytism attack, fight and take them [Negroes and other pagans] as slaves".

The conquest of Africa this side of 10° N., an area greater than Europe, was the task of centuries. Only since 1802 has the advance of Islam resumed any of its first aggressiveness and extent. This modern activity is due, certainly, to lust for land; probably, to jealousy of Christian missions; and, possibly, to Wahabi fanaticism. The panegyrists of Islam characterize its present propaganda as peaceful; but when this proves upon examination to be the case, it is found that Islam does not possess political supremacy. The Fulah, Mandingo and Yolof Muslims; the Egypto-Sudanese followers of the Faith; and the Zanzibari Muhammadans have been warriors. Even Blyden himself, so rosily color-blind in favor of Islam, was forced by the historic events of 1884 to confess the murderous character of Muslim missions. Claims of wonderful success for their efforts have been made, but the assertions rested mainly on biased and incompetent testimony and have been refuted in detail by scores of competent authorities. It was, *e. g.*, stated in 1884 that between Egypt and Sierra Leone the Muhammadans constituted the only great power. The claim, — untrue then, because France had shattered the Muslim power around the sources of the Joliba and the Senegal while the British were dominating Gandu and Sokotu, — is even less true to-day. France holds Timbuktu, influences Nigritia and pushes up the Mobangi toward Lake Chad and Fur. The British grip is clinched upon central Sudan (Nigeria). Germany is working into Adamawa and Bagirmi. The truth as to the present extension and potency of Islam was stated by Liv-

ingstone thirty years ago. Not as missionary but as statesman he wrote:

> From boyhood we have been accustomed to read about the great advances annually made by Muhammadanism in Africa. "The wave would soon reduce the entire continent to the Faith". The only foundation for the assertions was that the Fulah and Mandingo (and others mentioned by Barth) have made conquests of territory. But they care so little for the extension of their faith that no pains are taken after conquest to indoctrinate the adults . . . The assertion of Burton that Muhammadans alone make proselytes is not correct . . . In exceptional cases Muhammadans have propagated their religion, and gratified their lust of plunder or selfishness.

The character of African Islam in its ethical content and religious reach is best inferred from its history, career and method. Islam is far less rich in spiritual meaning and potencies than in social forces. When it entered Africa (638), it was half-ruined as a system of morals and theology. Multitudes of individual Muslims will bear comparison with the saints of Christendom as friends of God and lovers of righteousness; but the true distinction between Christianity and Islam lies in their tendency and tenor as a whole. Since Jesus the sinless and Muhammad the sinful constitute the heart and mind and soul of their respective religions, the Christian grows in God-likeness and uprightness on account of his faith; the Muhammadan in spite of his. As early as 661 Islam had largely apostatized from its original principles, an apostasy for which Muhammad led the way.* Life parted from religion, and accepted worldliness. This earthy taint has ever clung to African Muhammadanism. The conditions under which men may remain great sinners, yet be good Muslims sure of heaven, consist of good works and faith in a divine despot. Blyden, the Negro

*Page 36.

eulogist of Islam in Africa, acknowledges that its "oriental aspect has become largely modified by shaping many of its traditional customs to the milder and more conciliatory disposition of the Negro . . . In succeeding a debasing heathenism it has in many respects made compromises, so as occasionally to present a barren, hybrid character". These confessions shatter his contention that Islam has *not* made "degrading compromise with pagan superstitions". They are confirmed by Lenz, whose experience of Sudanese Muhammadans rests unrivalled. Their fanaticism results in the most brutal expression of religious intolerance toward dependants. Yet doctrine is subordinated to unbridled covetousness, Islam's most marked concession in Sudan, a covetousness often greater than bigotry itself. Moreover, deception and falsehood toward infidels are Islam's legacy to its adherents. Yet Islam in Nigeria is the only form of African Muhammadanism at all hopeful, though in Egypt, despite deterioration, the influence of Christianity and civilization causes it to show its best. The modifications really lowered Islam toward Negro superstitions, a debasement affording the Fulah their pretext for holy wars against Muslims no less than pagans. The racial superiority of the Fulah, Mandingo and Yolof imparted a measure of manliness and purity to Sudanese Muhammadanism, but even these tribes added pagan rites to their faith. In Egyptian Sudan witnesses so variant as Baker, Gordon, Schnitzer (Emin Pasha) and Schweinfurth were at one in their testimony that Islam is worse than worthless. Cruelty, immorality and hypocrisy characterize its votaries. In East Africa Burton, equally great as explorer and *litterateur*, scientist and scholar, credited Muhammadanism with habitual dishonesty, drunkenness, superstition, unchastity and almost

every other sin and vice. In South Africa Livingstone, lover alike of Arab and African, found "pagan Africans superior in morality to the followers of the prophet. Africans would be the better men in proportion as they retained their ancient faith. The moral tone [Islam's] is pitched at a lower key. The ancient zeal has been replaced by the intensest selfishness and grossest sensuality". In North Africa the Senusiya, although they purified the sexual morals of Barka, openly violate the observances of Muslim law. In Algeria Islam cynically says: "To fear the French is to fear God". Marocco, crumbling, fanatical Marocco which with Sudan looks upon Egypt and Turkey as little better than infidel lands, is the China of the west, a cesspool stagnating in the name of Allah. Its persecution of the Jew has always been more terrible than that inflicted by Russia.

Sahara is the true symbol of Islam. This land of fear, with its desert and oases, best expresses the material and moral results of African Muhammadanism in its numerical, religious and social phases. Though such students as Blyden and Reclus, Taylor and Thomson have expressed themselves in favor of Islam as a civilizing and moral force, the verdict of the great majority of authorities has been given against it.

The numerical strength has been grossly exaggerated. Barnes in 1890 shrieked that Africa contained over eighty million Musulmans. Lavigerie proclaimed that in Sudan alone the Muslims numbered between sixty and sixty-five millions. An encyclopedia of missions rated the Muhammadans of all Africa as sixty million, two hundred thousand. In these hysterical statistics one fatal defect, to say nothing of omitted factors, lay in the overestimate of the population of Africa. Instead of its peoples numbering two hundred and five million,

eight hundred and twenty-three thousand, two hundred and sixty, Ravenstein, a high authority, apparently demonstrated the population (1889-90) to be one hundred and twenty-seven million, thirty-eight thousand, three hundred and seventy; and the annual increase then to average one *per cent.* Blunt, the author of *The Future of Islam* and a friend of this faith, had in 1880-81 estimated the African Muslims as thirty-four million, five hundred thousand, assigning five million to Egypt, eleven million, five hundred thousand to the Negroes and eighteen million to North and North-West Africa. The substantial accuracy of that religious census is confirmed by the following facts: (1) The African advances of Islam have since 1880 been due to the natural increase of Musulman populations, the gain from proselytism being infinitesimal. Applying Ravenstein's ratio to the Muhammadans, the lapse of fifteen years would bring their number to thirty-nine million, six hundred and seventy-five thousand. (2) Scores if not hundreds of peoples within the sphere of Islam, numbering millions and included in the exaggerated estimates as Muhammadans of full and regular standing, must be rejected as pagans. (3) Keane, a prince of African ethnologists, allowed African Islamry only forty million adherents in 1894*. Among the non-Christian peoples of Africa, then one hundred and sixty-five million, seven hundred and thirty thousand according to him, the Muhammadans were less than one-fourth. The pagans alone (one hundred and twenty-five million) were three and one-eighth times more numerous.

If the quantitative results, despite twelve hundred

*On Feb. 4, 1896, Prof. Keane wrote: "Musulman population of Africa: Mine, 40 millions; yours 39,675,000. These results may be regarded as identical, which is surprising, as they have been arrived at independently. If this is gratifying to you, it is no less so to me, and shows, I think, that we have both been working in the right direction."

and sixty years of residence, stand at so slight a figure, the qualitative effects make scarcely more satisfactory a showing. In Egypt and North Africa Islam fell heir to classic and Christian civilization. The Saracens (640–750) conserved the results of former culture. If they burned the Alexandrine library, — and many authorities assert that Theophilus entirely destroyed it in 391 — the crusaders perhaps burned that of Tripoli, Syria, while Ximenes the Spanish Christian actually committed thousands of Muslim manuscripts to the flames. During the first century of Muhammadan occupancy along the Mediterranean littoral large cities were built. The people rose generally above their condition under the decayed empire. The Kopts had guarantees of security. The Berber, in physique and manners more like the Saracen than is any other African race, had reached the stage of culture to which Islam is adapted. But the Quran forms the foundation of this "civilization", — fit only for civilized savages such as the Saracens of the seventh century. Islam has always lain so lightly on the Berbers that they easily embrace doctrines incompatible with it and ideas destructive of all order. To this day the Kabyle Berber of Algeria, six hundred and twenty-five thousand strong, hate the Arab. The Musulman immigrants of the eleventh century were ignorant and lawless Bedawin. Thanks to Arab lawlessness and rapine and to the anarchic individuality of the Berber, Islam swept away almost every trace of previous religions and civilizations, prevented the formation of permanent, well-regulated states and in the open country of Algeria and Marocco, Tripoli and Tunisia has ever since made peace and prosperity almost unattainable. Even Egypt was from 740 to 970 debarred from profiting by the enlightenment of the dominant race. The Fatimites,

a Berber (?) and heretic dynasty reigning from 970 to 1169, restored a measure of ancient prosperity and founded Cairo university. This Muslim school is older than Oxford, and boasts ten thousand students. Saladin the Kurd and his orthodox successors (1169-1249) patronized art and literature. The Memluk dynasties (1250-1517), Caucasic in blood, so favored scholars that in their times literature and the arts throve best. But under the orthodox or Sunnite Ottoman (1517-1811) the Muslim civilization decayed. In East Africa the Arab culture had flourished for centuries before the birth of Muhammad. If in 1498 the Portuguese found the Zanguebar littoral studded with peaceful, populous cities as far south as Sofala, the initial impulse of this Islamic civilization was mainly due to the Persian refugees of the tenth century. Our conclusions as to the achievement of Islam in Mediterranean and Saharan Africa must coincide with those of Blerzey, Church, Freeman and Renan. Blerzey declared that "the Arab despotism vested in white autochthonic races [Berbers], without fusion between the conquering element and the conquered; without destroying the language and manners of the subject; without creating anything durable". Renan affirmed that "on ground none of the best Islam has done as much harm as good. It has stifled everything by its arid and desolating simplicity . . . The essential condition of a diffused civilization is the destruction of Islam. The product of an inferior and meager combination of human elements, its conquests have all been on the average plane. Savage races have been incapable of rising to it. It has not satisfied the peoples who carried in themselves the seeds of a stronger civilization". Freeman charged Muhammadanism with consecrating despotism, polygamy and slavery. Dean

Church, whose solidity and wealth of scholarship and soundness of judgment sciolists alone dispute, endorsed the accusation, adding: "It has done this directly in virtue of being a religion, a religious reform*".

These criticisms, it is objected, hold true only of Islam among Mediterranean races, and can not apply to its effect upon the Negro. Does not Reclus, whose superb and monumental geography of the world ranks him with Humboldt, write: "In Nigritia the propagation of Islam coincides with important political and social changes. Large states were founded in regions hitherto a prey to a hundred hostile and savage tribes. Manners softened. Solidarity sprang up between communities formerly engaged in ceaseless war. Muhammadanism enjoys more material cohesion than in Asia . . . Their common belief tends everywhere to diffuse the social ideas, habits, usages and speech of the Arab . . . At Mecca the most zealous pilgrims, those subject to most frequent fits of religious frenzy, are the Negroes of Wadai and Bornu and the inhabitants of northwest Abyssinia. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the journey, thousands [14,000?] of Takrurs [Negroes from West Africa] undertake the pilgrimage every year. In West Africa the propagators of Islam are Negroes. In East Africa the dealers [in slaves] take no interest in conversion. They prefer to keep them [the natives] pagan, in order to retain the right of persecution and plunder. Once converted, even by mere circumcision, natives acquire fellowship with the faithful. Nor is there lack of honest Muhammadans who labor zealously in the spirit of the Quran for the emancipation of their slaves. In Gazelle-River province Felkin met a slave-dealer's son, who, finding himself the owner of several hundred slaves,

*John Morley on Dean Church: The bright consummate flower of English Christian scholarship. We shall never look upon his like again.

immediately liberated all''? Does not Blyden, who has visited the Muhammadans behind Liberia and Sierra Leone, add: ''Muhammadanism counts in its ranks the most energetic and enterprising tribes. It claims as adherents the only people who have any form of civil polity or bond of social organization. Its laws regulate the most powerful kingdoms''? Has not Joseph Thomson, a scientific observer and the humanest, the noblest of African explorers since Livingstone, confessed that Gandu and Sokotu gave him a different impression of Islam on the Niger from the impression he expected? Fetichism with its bat-brood had disappeared. Islam had inspired these Negroes. Central Sudan had advanced considerably in material civilization. Zoeller admitted that in outward respects Muhammadanism grafts great improvements on the pagan. Canon Taylor apologized for its sterility and unprogressiveness as due, like those of other oriental religions, to climate and race rather than to creed.

As we see the northern lobe of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Abyssinia, with Muslim fringes in Equatoria, Somalia and Zanguebar, looped to Mecca by the girdle of Islam, it seems at first as if Reclus must be right.* But second sight shows its unity and vastness to appeal not to reason but to imagination. To assert, as did the author of *Shall Islam Rule Africa?* that this ''half of Africa is as Islamic as Persia'', is unwittingly to betray a client; it can almost be maintained that Persia's eight million Islamites do not include one real Muslim.†

*Baumann unjustifiably extends African Islamry southward and westward. He delimits it by an irregular line east from Old Kalabar to a point in the Kongo-Nile watershed about 7° N and about 24° E, thence due south through Belgian Kongo to a region about 8° S, and thence southeastward to Zambezi-mouth. The Islamites between this line and the East Coast and 10° N come under the principle that the law does not concern itself with trifles.

†In Persia Islam has never really conquered the convictions of the people. One observer, Gobineau, giving the opinion of a *sufi* [Muhammadan mystic] has ventured to doubt whether the whole of Persia contains a single true Musulman.

They are Shiites or sectarians, the heterodox and schismatic rivals of Sunnite or orthodox Musulmans. In Africa this other shape of Islam, "if shape it may be called that shape has none, or substance may be called that shadow seems", recalls Milton's picture of death: "What seemed his head the likeness of a kingly crown had on". The supremacy of Sudanese Islam over Negro society is less a reality than a semblance. If material limitations permitted, nearly a hundred tribes could be cited that have accepted Islam only in name when they have not rejected it utterly*. This fact means that the southern line is broken at scores of points. It also means that the strategic centers behind the inner intrenchments are rotten and sapped. Barth found the Hausa, a Saharo-Sudanese folk on the divide between the Chad and Sokotu basins, animated by little zeal. Lenz informs us that the Futa highlander and the Mandingo have adopted Islam in form or not at all. Brun-Renaud states that the Bambara and the Yolof themselves are mostly pagans. Bagirmi has merely been inoculated, multitudes of its tribes remaining pagans. Muhammad the Tunisian compared his fellow-religionaries among Sudanese pagans to a ring in Saharan sands. In the Nile basin, from Khartum to Wadelai, Felkin and Wilson discovered the populations of

Islam, if ever a living power in Persia, is such no longer. The derision with which the raising of the green banner for the holy war was received sufficiently shows this. A Muslim "crescentade" could not count on Persian help. The Sunni looks upon the Shiite Persian as a dog, an infidel. (Haines, *Islam*, pp. 202-203.) Professor D. B. Macdonald adds that Persia is *sufi* through and through. The Persian *sufi* calls himself a Muslim, but has no part in the Faith. (Am. Journ. of Sem. Languages, v. 12, no. 1, p. 109 note.)

*Reclus: *Africa*, edited by Keane, published by Appleton & Co., New York City, U. S. A., 1886. See vol. i, pp. 23, 91, 93, 105, 107, 114, 119, 121, 149, 155, 156, 157, 176, 190, 191, 197, 198, 203, 212, 213, 214, 224, 225, 227, 229, 232-234, 263, 266, 269, 278, 295, 300, 342, 351, 393, 395 and 410; vol. ii, pp. 12, 19, 21, 260, 309, 310, 321, 334, 337-340, 368, 369, 432, 447, 452, 457, 459, 461, 468, 470 and 481; vol. iii, pp. 138, 142, 143, 145, 147, 149, 150, 170, 175, 188, 194, 196, 203, 206, 218, 234, 241, 265, 274, 288, 291, 292, 306, 310, 321, 329, 342, 352-354, 356-358, 360, 367, 454 and 461; vol. iv, pp. 127, 146, 196, 259, 272, 294, 300, 313, 315, 354, 355, 360, 390, 394, 398, 399, 402, 403, 418, 446, 466, 469 and 479. Baumann greatly exaggerates the southern sweep of Islam's influence.

Muslim Kordo to have scarcely any religious ideas; the Shilluk and their neighbors are only partly Muhammadan; and other Negroes — the Bari, Bongo, Dinka, Madi and Shuli — remain sheer heathen. If these source-regions of the Nile be under Muslim dominance, it is through Africanized Arabs extending their political power.

The assumption that Sudanese civilization is wholly due to Islam has but doubtful validity. Reclus has shown that thousands of years before Islam the Negro had shared in civilizing work: "From remotest antiquity Africans, even beyond Egypt, took part in man's triumphs over nature . . . The civilized world is indebted to the natives for several domestic animals . . . Even in industries Africa has contributed to the inheritance of mankind. The monuments of Egypt can not all have been the work of the Rotu [Egyptians] alone. Among the products of Egyptian industry are frequently recognized forms recurring in Nubia and Sudan. Smelting and working iron have been attributed to the Negroes. The Bongo as well as other African tribes constructed furnaces of very ingenious type . . . The tribe was acquainted with the art of minting. Among the Ogowai Fans bits of iron are current coins in common use". The Negro, when independent of outside influences, has shown native capacity for material advancement, self-elevation and state-building. The Ashanti and Dahomans, true Negroes, typical Guinea Negroes, spontaneously developed considerable civilizations*. They were realms of woman's rights. The Dahoman culture is credited with having elicited admiration from Herbert Spencer. The Mangbattu and Zande on the water-shed draining toward the Kongo, the Nile

*Islam had Ashanti proselytes in 1750, but its civilization and that of Dahome antedate any possible Muslim influence.

and the Shari amazed Schweinfurth, — the former by the high development of the industries and the sentiment of nationality; the latter, little inferior in material civilization, by their Christian respect for woman. According to Baker the pagan Nyoro of Lake Albert had independently "developed administration, sub-governors, taxes, good clothing, art, agriculture and architecture". Uganda was not inferior, but as its ruling race is of Hamitic extraction, possibly this civilization can not be credited to the Negro. No such hesitancy need be felt as to the Kongo and Zambezi peoples. Before the appearance of Arabs or Europeans, these Negroes had originated empires and republics possessing complex governmental arrangements. Some at least were not without the elements of true civilization. Whatever Islam may have done for the Negro was in being, not the initial impulse for his advance, but the reinforcement of his native faculties. Even in Sudan it has merely aided, not created, his capacity for progress. But "Islam is a reform which has stifled all other reforms. It has chained every people which has accepted it to a certain stage of moral and political growth". The sterility and unprogressiveness of Negro civilizations, Negro states, are as much due to the paralyzing death-grip of Islam as to nature's foreclosure of his intellectual powers when she mortgages the growth of his brain after puberty.

Our run around Africa has shown that not all the most energetic and enterprising tribes, the peoples with civic polities and social organizations, are under Islam. Blyden cut the ground from beneath this claim by admitting that "imperfect Muhammadanism so extensively prevails". Lenz believes Islam an enemy to all progress. Even Bosworth Smith holds that it stimulates the martial temper. Zoeller stigmatizes it as the greatest promoter

of African barbarism. Thomson judged much as Bryce would have done, had he written *The American Commonwealth* on the strength of a week's journey from Boston to San Francisco. Thomson made a flying visit to Gandu and Sokotu, cities six hundred statute miles due north of the Niger mouth. He spent but four months along the river. He went from pagan populations degraded by four centuries of Christian slaving and Christian trade in lethal liquors to independent, manly, self-respecting, wine-forswearing Muslims. He passed in an instant from darkness to light. The instancy of the passage blinded him. The shortness of his stay forbade full knowledge. While the ruling race is Muhammadan, the substratum is pagan. Independence, manliness and self-respect can not be wholly the gift of Islam, for the Zulu, who, if they ever knew it, never accepted it, are so high-spirited that a blow in jest must be repaid with interest. No southron chevalier could stickle for honor more punctiliously than these heathen blackamoors. Nor can Islam be honored as a vast African temperance-society, for abstinence has been more professed than practiced. The Fulbe are notoriously a drunken people. If, again, Thomson had visited the independent Negroes between the Binwe and Niger Rivers, whose culture is in many respects higher than that of their Musulman neighbors, he must have modified his views.

One hears of the Fulah having schools everywhere, even in the smallest communities; of universities and libraries. Arabic, the Quran untranslated and treatises in the vernacular are studied. Education we are asked to believe compulsory. The Senusi missionaries among the Tubu of Kanem opened schools for girls. Islam has certainly aroused a slight desire for education, and granted a slighter satisfaction. The amount and

kind of this intellectual culture may be inferred from the complaint of Muhammad of Tunis: "The books that sell are on jurisprudence and Tradition . . . These Muslims remain profoundly ignorant of the attainments characteristic of man and constituting the proper domain of his intelligence". At Timbo the Muhammadan "university" turned out to be the veranda of a mud-hut where a teacher heard boys repeat the Quran by rote. *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* goes so far as to maintain that all Musulman Negroes who have read the Quran can be accommodated in the waiting-room of Euston station. "The priests themselves can not distinguish between 'mumpsimus' and 'sumpsimus' when they jabber, and do not attempt to understand other Arabic books". Spitta and Mueller confirm such charges, stating that education in Al Azhar, Cairo's university, ruins the finest intellects. Since the best "scholarship" of orthodox Islam devotes itself to this school of the prophets, the mental and religious training in Sudan runs greater risk of crushing originality.

The crowning benefit bestowed upon the benighted Negro by Islam, its advocate triumphantly exclaims, is belief in the one true God. Is not this an advance, an immense advance, upon fetichism and idolatry? This depends on the content and effect of the idea of God in Islam and in African paganism. If the two members of this religious equation prove of equal value, the answer must be: $x=y$ and the gain is zero.

Negro heathenism, broadly speaking, is a worship of the powers of nature. In West Africa this nature-religion presents itself in the narrower form of animism, fetichism or spiritism. These are here practically identical and interchangeable. This fetichism is not image-worship, but a child's philosophy and religion. Savages

attribute spirits to material objects, to stone and tree, to wave and wind. These hold spiritual influences and powers, and are the vehicle of their action. They may be controlled and directed by the owner of such objects, which constitute the fetich or charm. The Christian who believes that to find a horse-shoe brings luck, is as truly a fetich-worshiper as the pagan who chooses a tree as the abode of divinity and for his patron. But Negro fetichism does not stop with superstition.* Most observers perceive only its face. Few penetrate to the soul. African animism is generally associated with noble and rational beliefs. From Cape Verd to Cape Lopez the Negro, before the coming of Islam or Christianity, believed in a supreme god, creator of all. He does not busy himself with men's affairs, and, therefore, is not habitually worshiped; but the Africans regard themselves as living amid spiritual agencies, as constantly influenced by these beings. God governs the universe through His ministers, and sometimes direct intervention is attributed to Him. It is these lower deities that are sent into fetiches, which thus are not the spirit himself but only his abode. Such a spirit-world implies life after death, while the ideas of hell, purgatory and redemption, ideas of independent Negro origin, are not unknown to native thought. The human sacrifices of Guinea and Sudan are logical, not unjustifiable resultants of the pagan thought of immortality. Even can-

*If we may trust Max Mueller and Spencer, fetichism has never anywhere constituted the whole of a people's religion. Mueller "maintains that fetichism was a corruption of religion; that the Negro is capable of higher religious ideas; and that many tribes cherish very exalted, pure and true sentiments of the deity." (Hibbert Lecture Two, p. 105); that "fetichism is the last stage in the downward course of religion (Natural Religion, p. 159) and that even among the most degraded modern Negroes remnants of a higher belief have always been discovered beside this degraded belief (Nat. Rel. pp. 219-220). Spencer asserts that "among the lowest races, such as . . . Bushmen, there is no fetichism". Mueller and Spencer, however, are not authorities for the views expressed as to Negro religions in chapters three and five.

nibalism is not without religious origins and significances. If Negro heathenism fail in moral power, if African piety exert practically no influence upon character and conduct, the defect is shared by other religions.

Whoever desires an introduction to Allah, — Islam's absentee landlord, who, jealous of man, wound the clock of the universe and went away forever — is referred to Palgrave*. He has rendered terrific justice to the oriental world-tyrant whom Muhammad styled the giant. This divine personage, although disentangled from nature and abhorring idolatry, possesses demoniac traits. He stands at abysmal heights above men. Their only affair is to obey his despotic decrees. He cares nothing for character. Hence men, arbitrarily foredamned, have no reason for righteousness. Islam cuts the nerve of ethics, removes a motive for holiness. The sense of sin scarcely exists. Repentance and sanctification are dreams undreamed. Such a thought of God and man, of personality, ethical practice and spiritual principles, may rise above animistic fetichism with its magic, unmorality and witchcraft; but it rises little and stops short. The trajectory of Islam is low. Muhammad's mythology of angels and demons, of ghouls and jinns assimilates itself with Negro beliefs in good and evil spirits. The Muslim minister takes the place of the pagan medicine-man. Quranic verses replace fetiches as amulets. Musulman contempt of life is substituted for the human sacrifices demanded by fetichism. Heathen character and pagan customs remain largely unchanged after conversion. The effect of Islam upon the Negro has as a whole been

*Theologians have pantheistic views of Allah, making him the only force in the universe, but in effect the popular thought of Him is deistic as expressed above. God stands aloof from all His creations.

best summed up by Lord Houghton. With the inspiration of truth his poetic genius sang:

> One God the Arabian prophet preached to man;
> One God the orient still
> Adores through many a realm of mighty span —
> A God of power and will;
>
> A power that at his pleasure doth create
> To save or to destroy,
> And to eternal pain predestinate
> As to eternal joy.
>
> * * * * *
>
> So, while the world rolls on from change to change
> And realms of thought expand,
> The letter stands without expanse or range,
> Stiff as the dead man's hand!

This brief attempt at the portrayal of Islam in Africa is completed. Its features have been sketched without fear or favor. Its defects and merits, its strength and weakness have, in intention, been faithfully presented. The imperious truths of history, reinforced by the regnant realities of religion, appear to justify such conclusions as these: Islam has been slow in operation, superficial and unsatisfying in actual achievement. Its African conquests, though larger in area than Europe, cost nearly thirteen hundred years of effort, are more nominal than real, and relatively number but few adherents. As an ethical, spiritual and state-building force it has proved a failure. In Egypt, North Africa and Northern Sahara it supplanted a superior civilization; in Sudan the Muslim brought a culture little if any superior to that of the Negro. In the lands of the Negro the Muslim success consists of Arab immigrations; the conversion of five or six influential tribes; and their conquest of others. Since the boasted brotherhood of Islam includes only Muslims, though "the uneducated Muslims

of India would hardly recognize Tipu Tip as a brother", it is not a brotherhood of man and affords no asylum for the pagan. Though slavery and the slave-trade existed before Islam, this established both as institutions with vested rights. It justifies Mage and Schweinfurth in stating, the former for West Africa, the latter for Central Africa, that "Islam is at the bottom of the ills under which Africa suffers" and that "the banner of Islam is the banner of blood".

The day of Islam is over. Its passing began centuries ago. When the Arab and the ship of the desert reached the tenth degree north of the equator, — *then*, as of old to ocean so now to Islam, God shut this sea with nature's doors, and said: Hitherto shalt thou come but no further; and here shall the pride of thy waves be stayed. Equatorial Africa defies Islam. For ages it dashed itself into froth in frantic effort to reach the equator. Only along the eastern coast did it succeed in crossing this line of fate. In 1890 Stanley predicted that "Muhammadanism is decreasing very fast. There is no possibility of its ever raising its head again. There will not be a Muhammadan south of the equator in Central Africa within five years. That is something gained if we can drive them north*". Inside the allotted time the forecast fell true. The shifting of the center of gravity in Africa, with its transfer of the balance of power from Islam to Christianity, had begun in 1415 through the capture of Ceuta by Portugal; it was completed when the partition of Africa by Europe struck the sword from the hand of Islam. The crescent pales and wanes before the cross. Islam knows its doom, and

* *The Advance*, Chicago, November 13, 1890 The Reverend S. M. Zwemer states that Victoria the empress and Wilhelmina the queen reign over seventy-six million, five hundred thousand Muslims. "This", he adds, "is the finger of God. Protestantism is to force the problem. The oriental churches remain important factors. Regenerated by missions, they will fight Islam".

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cries: Kismet! Muhammad II, on the very day of his conquest of Constantinople, struck down an Osmanli soldier destroying the mosaics of St Sophia, and whispered: "Who knows but in another age they may serve another religion than Islam?" Arab legends announce the coming conquests of Christianity. About 1725 an Algerian Muslim uttered this prediction: "The power of the Christians will have no limit; the mosques will be abandoned; the religion of the faithful is dead at Algiers". The indestructibility of the Abyssinian church, a barren Gibraltar of Christianity amid Islam and paganism, has made such impact upon the Musulman imagination that in 1844 Johnson the traveler reported it. Not from Russia, so runs the ancient and universal legend, nor from any realm of Europe, but from Christian Abyssinia shall come the conquerors of Islam, the destroyers of its holy city and temple. In 1888 the sultan of Turkey said of the fresco of the Christ in St Sophia, once Christian church, now Muslim mosque, soon to be forever the church of Christ: "Cover it! His time has not *yet* come".

This confession of a head of Islam brings us to the kernel of the argument. If, in the judgment of Lavigerie, "the Muslim creed is the masterpiece of Satan, satisfying religious needs to a certain extent by the fragments of truth it retains"; *if Islam to-day is not a Christian heresy but a distinct religion*, why waste time on its inheritance from Christianity? The reason is that this heirloom is a blade with two edges. Before 750 this scimitar severed Kopts from Christianity. It pointed to the pseudo-Christianity in Islam as an argument for Islam's truth. To-day this spiritual sword can and ought to be turned against Islam. The religious truths common to the half-brothers may be made a means for bringing the Muslim

to Christianity. The points of contact offer so many fulcrums for the lever of the missionary, so many points of approach to assail the gigantic if ruinous system. The fact that two hundred and twenty-five verses of the Quran are abrogated need cause no practical difficulty in turning precepts against practice. No canon declares what verses are null, what void. No theologian can determine*. In Egypt and North Africa European influence tames Muslim fanaticism. In West Africa it is possible to come to an understanding with imperfect Islam. Though in Sahara and Sudan Muhammadanism may survive for centuries, the Arabian prophet can be made a servant of Christ. The prayer of Abraham, repeated in the liturgy of the Unity of Brethren, shall be fulfilled, and Ishmael live before God†.

* *Cf.* Macdonald: "Theologians have been determining what verses are abrogated, what not, and have come to a tolerably definite conclusion. Tradition has a determining voice". But he elsewhere said previously that "the greater number [of Traditions] have been forged and it is almost impossible to weed the false from the true".

† Genesis XVII: vv. 18 & 20.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF ISLAM IN AFRICA

A.D. 628	Governor of Egypt and king of Abyssinia invited to accept Islam.
640	Beginning of the conversion of the Kopt.
703	Beginning of the conversion of the Berber.
710	Islam enters Spain from Africa, and remains till 1492.
717=720	Proselyting efforts of Umar II in Egypt.
900=1000	Islam arrives now, if not earlier, in East Africa.
1000	Islam begins to spread in West Sudan.
1050 (about)	Yassin's mission among the Berber.
1077	Timbuktu becomes a mission=center.
1100=1200	Islam enters East Sudan.
1187	Conversion of Christian crusaders begins, and continues through the thirteenth century.
1216=35	Extensive conversions of Kopts.
1300	Mission in Abyssinia.
1325 (?)	Conversions of Nubians (?).
1430	Mission in Harar.
1450 (about)	The Qadriya enters West Africa.
1490 (about)	Mission among the Kabyle.
1500=25 (?)	Final conversion of Nubia (?).
1528=43	Ahmad Gragne in Abyssinia.
1600	Spread of Islam in Sudan.
1750 (about)	Spread of Islam in Abyssinia.
1790 (about)	Muslim revival in Sudan. Origin of the Tijaniya.
1798=1801	Napoleon overthrows the Memluks in Egypt.
1800=50	Sudanese gains of Islam. Rise of the Senusiya.
1882=1900	Mahdist movement.
1892=94	Fall of the Muslim Slave=Power in Belgian Kongo.
1900	European control of Africa will have ended the military and political power of Islam.

CHAPTER 4

568–1520

MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY AND AFRICA

Ah, Constantine! of how much ill was mother
Not thy conversion, but that marriage-dower
Which the first wealthy Father took from thee!
Dante (Longfellow's trans.) *Inferno*, xix

A GLANCE BEFORE. WEAKNESS AND STRENGTH OF CHRISTIANITY. PERIODS OF MEDIEVAL AFRICAN MISSIONS. CHARACTERISTICS. (I) AFRICAN CHRISTIANITY ISOLATED. ITS SERVICE TO EUROPE. THE BERBER AS A FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MISSIONS. THE SALVATION OF EUROPE FROM ISLAM DUE TO THE TEUTON. THE ISLAMIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY. CHARLEMAGNE AND AFRICA. SLOWNESS OF CHRISTIANITY'S DISAPPEARANCE FROM BARBARY. (II) MILITARY, MONASTIC AND SCHOLASTIC MISSIONS. SIGNIFICANCE AND MUSLIM SOURCE OF THE CRUSADES. PARTICIPANTS. EGYPT THE KEY TO SYRIA. REVIVAL OF TRUE MISSIONS. FRANCIS OF ASSISI. LOUIS IX THE ROYAL MISSIONARY. HIS EGYPTIAN CRUSADE. CRUSADE AGAINST TUNIS. MULTIPLICITY OF ORGANIZATIONS. PHILANTHROPIC ORDERS. MILITARY ORDERS. MISSIONARY ORDERS: FRANCISCANS IN MAROCCO. LULL THE IDEAL MISSIONARY. HIS METHODS AND PROJECTS. MISSION TO TUNIS. TO BUGIE. SEEMING SUCCESS. INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF LULL. HIS SPIRITUALITY. HIS RANK. (III) THE MERCHANT, THE SEAMAN AND THE STATESMAN AS MISSIONARIES. DISCOVERY, 1418-98, MAINLY DUE TO MISSIONS. HENRY THE NAVIGATOR. ISLAM AGAIN: ORIGIN OF NEGRO SLAVERY. MISSIONARY ACTIVITY OF THE PORTUGUESE STATE. PORTUGUESE MISSIONS IN KONGO. THE QUEST FOR PRESTER JOHN. AMERICA AND INDIA INJURE AFRICA. XIMENES IN AFRICA. SPAIN AND THE SLAVE-TRADE. (IV) THE MEANING OF MEDIEVAL AFRICAN MISSIONS. INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES ON CIVILIZATION. INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE. SPIRITUAL INFLUENCE. LESSONS FROM MISSIONS. LIGHT IN DARK-

NESS. ACTIONS OF INSTITUTIONS AS TO MISSIONS. BACON AND LULL. WORK AND WORTH OF THE MISSIONS. MEDIEVAL PREDICTION OF MODERN MISSIONS.

Dante is the poet of Latin, Milton of Teutonic Christianity. Yet the medieval churchman, "the voice of ten silent centuries," was as emphatic in his condemnation of the worldliness of the papacy as the modern Christian who helped to save freedom of conscience from hireling wolves threatening to bind the soul with secular chains.* The Catholic laid his finger as firmly as the Congregationalist on the aching sore of medieval Christianity. Each said: Thou ailest here and here. The secularization of the church by the Roman empire, the corruption of Christianity by the Germanic barbarians and the Islamization of Christian belief, life and society by the Berbers and Moors resulted in checking the progress and changing the character of Christian missions.

In Egypt and North Africa the medieval career of Christianity was that of a Saharan stream. The Draa illustrates this. It rises in the eternal snows of the Atlas mountains. Its length exceeds that of the Rhine. But its brimming waters lose themselves in the sands, and reach the Atlantic only in rainy seasons. African Christianity was born in eternal life, continued to flow even when the Sahara of Islam encroached upon it, and in times of spiritual renewal reached the open sea of Christendom. Medieval missions to Africa, though few, afford such encouragement, are so rich in meaning, as to form the Rosetta stone of Christian missions†. In Abyssinia and Egypt Christianity, without reinforcement,

*Sonnet 11, (To Cromwell) lines 11-14.

†This judgment has since received confirmation from the view of Warneck then unread: "Doubtless we have much to learn from medieval missions for our missions of to-day. Thorough and impartial examination would show that we too much undervalue their work". (*Outline of Protestant Missions*, trans. by Thos. Smith, p. 193).

traversed the horrible desert between its past and its future. In North Africa Christianity proved itself to be the deathless angel of Milton that "can not but annihilating die". In Barbary or in Egypt Charlemagne, Francis of Assisi, Louis of France and Lull of Majorca nourished native Christianity, strove in the temper of Muhammad to regain its lost lands, or attempted in the spirit of Jesus to win Islam. It may sometimes seem as if their efforts were buried rivers so far as they benefited African Christianity; but these missions have shown themselves to be underground reservoirs of the modern mission. The experience of the medieval missioner in Islamry throws the clearest light on the method to be pursued by the modern missionary to Muhammadans.

The crusades constitute a scientific frontier between the earlier and the later periods of medieval African missions. The first period extends from 750 to 1095, the second from 1095 to 1520. The second period is also subdivided by maritime discovery. The African crusades occurred in the thirteenth century in Barbary and Egypt, marine exploration in the fifteenth century in West, South and East Africa. Missions were the consequence of the soldier's, the cause of the sailor's, great emprise. The martial missioner showed himself great by land; his maritime successor was great by sea. The historic features of the earlier period consist of the ultimate destruction of Christianity in North Africa; the conversion of Scandinavian peoples; the action and reaction of Christian Europe and Muhammadan Africa; and the final success of western Christendom in saving Latin Christianity and European civilization. The French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish nationalities began to play the part which from 1200 to 1700 made them the dominant European factors in African affairs. The

epoch-making events of the second era were the crusades; the foundation of orders of spiritual knights, of redeemers of Christians from Saracen slavery and of mendicant missionaries; the entrance of Portugal upon her career of maritime discovery and territorial aggrandizement; the first contact of Christianity with the Negro at large and in his true home; the invention of gun-powder and printing; the fall of Constantinople and the discovery of America; the slave-trade that dragged the Negro to worlds unknown; the new birth of the human intellect; and the politico-religious revolutions of the sixteenth century.

On the Red Sea the parallelisms of nature render western Arabia quite as Ethiopian a country as Abyssinia and Egypt. On the Mediterranean this analogy repeats itself. Southern Europe between the Adriatic and the Atlantic is almost a duplicate of northern Africa from the Canary Isles to the Gulf of Cabes. The Iberian and Italian peninsulas (with Sicily, Sardinia and southern France), Majorca, Minorca, Malta and Corsica are all only less African than Tunis, Marocco and Algeria. Medieval missions to Barbary and Egypt fall as fully within the sphere of African missions as modern missions in Guinea, Sudan, Zambezia and Zanguebar. As contrasted with ancient and modern missions, they are preeminently the missions to Islam. Ancient Christianity had evangelized Berbers and Kopts, Ethiopians and European-descended colonists. In the Garamantes, perhaps, in the Nubians, certainly, it had touched a few Negroes. Modern Christianity has reached every family of African races. But medieval Christianity took up the work, at least in part, of the ancient church; accepted Islam as a new field of missions; added Moors and Saracens to the church; and in its last century anticipated

modern Christianity among the Negroes. Medieval Christianity also brought most of the modern nations of western Europe into the evangelization of Africa. During the earlier era efforts at propagating Christianity were more legitimate; during the later ages fanatical; and during the final century bigoted. Though the direct results were few and slight, their indirect influence was that of the caisson-worker. Beneath the river's bed, far below the surface of the stream he excavates for the foundations of the bridge whose aërial span, far aloft, shall carry commerce, civilization and messages of peace across the gulf.

I

African Christianity Isolated

From 638 to 740 Islam in the Mediterranean lands was aggressive, and ended the European headship of Africa. Not till Napoleon shook Egypt, not till France took Algiers, did Christendom regain the mastery. During these twelve centuries of exile from its ancient heritage, for the wretched remnants of the native churches endured a living death, European Christianity made fleeting visits and exerted influence. But African Christianity died hard. The barbaric, pagan Berber recoiled repeatedly from Islam. Western Europe and Latin Christianity have to thank the Berber revolts and religious reactions for respite. Not before the destruction of Carthage (698) and the subjugation of Marocco (707) did the Saracens find their hands unhampered by the Berber and European for the invasion of Spain (711). If Islam had invaded France before 687, the Merwing puppet-kings could not have prevented the Saracen from stabling his steed in the Christian churches of

Rome. Meanwhile, however, Pepin Heristal (687) and Charles the Hammer (715) were growing into power. When the clock of destiny struck 732, and Islam, broken at Tours, rolled behind the Pyrenees, — the martyred African church and the half-heathen Berber had contributed vitally to the salvation of Christianity and the ultimate victory of civilization. Men never fail who perish in a true cause. The Christians of North Africa triumphed even in defeat and death*.

Islam made religious warfare a Christian duty. Constantine, indeed, had in 316 inaugurated the first civil procedure against heresy. Augustine (354-430) had sanctioned the principle that the sword of the state should be at the service of the church against heresy and schism. The first religious war between Christians had occurred in 514. Abyssinia in behalf of Arabian Christianity had in 522 inaugurated the first crusade. But Islam was the

*Several circumstances in this clash of races and religions bear on the development of African missions. (1) Among the invaders of Spain were thirty thousand Berbers. These must have been the first African aborigines to attempt the conquest of Europe since Hasdrubal and Hannibal had led the Numidian mercenaries, their ancestors, into Sicily and Spain. History had repeated itself, for Hannibal's army of Italy consisted of Iberians, Libyans and Numidians. Two-thirds of the Carthaginian force (B. C. 218) had been composed of Africans, while the Spaniards were their ancestral kinsmen. Moreover, the command of the Spanish march along the Pyrenees and of its Muslim forces was twenty years later (A. D. 731) entrusted to a Berber, the greatest part of whose troops were also Berbers. The ambitious, audacious chieftain conceived the project of seizing the government of Spain. In spite of religious differences his interests lay so near those of the duke of Aquitaine that Uthman the Berber Islamite struck an alliance with Eudes the German Christian. Again, it was the African Berber in 777 who enabled Abd-er-Rahman, the latest offshoot of the Ummeyad khalifs, to found the khalifate of Cordova in opposition to the Abbassids at Baghdad. This rent the robe of empire, destroyed the oneness of the Islamic theocracy, and worked to the advantage of Christianity and Europe. Western Christendom was thus doubly indebted to the Berber. (2) The victory near Tours completed those of Marathon and the Metaurus. Hellas had saved the west from duplicating the east. Rome had saved Europe from the degrading and retrograde influence of Carthage and the Shemitic merchant. Now the east attacked the west, the south the north. Africa and Asia assailed Europe; the Quran, the Scriptures. On the issue depended the civilization of the world. The Aryan Kelt, Roman and Teuton stood shoulder to shoulder against the Hamite Berber and the Shemitic Arab in this world-earthquake. The European saved Christianity and the future from Islam and its final paralysis of life. Charles the Hammer shattered the mace petrific of Islam. Though it smote Christendom again, its Spanish march was driven beyond the Ebro; its Sicilian successes remained without lasting result; and its wearing-out of the Byzantine empire cost seven hundred and twenty years of extra effort. Charles the Hammer rendered possible the continuance of Christian missions to Africa.

first of religions to declare war against other faiths. Amru observed to a Christian prince that their religions were different, and that on this account it was lawful for brothers to quarrel. This spirit has never been quelled by defeat nor sated by success. Though Christianity had won its dominion by peace, the Saracen, Saxon and Scandinavian left it no other defense than war. Islam compelled Christendom to emblazon the cross on its banner and to heighten the impulses of freedom and patriotism by the stronger passion of religious enthusiasm. The first crusades were defensive and just, and shed a semblance of justice and piety over the holy wars of after years. They originated in Spain, and for eight centuries Iberian Christianity consisted of ceaseless crusades. There was nothing to prevent another inroad from the powerful Muhammadan potentates of Africa; nothing until 1212 to guarantee Christendom against another invasion as terrible as that of Tariq. The noblest Christians unknowingly took the Quran as their manual of missions. The conquests of Islam led Charles the Great to Islamic methods in dealing with Saxon pagans. The compulsoriness of their conversion, with death as the alternative of baptism, was due to the Quran. Even Louis IX of France, a royal saint, devoutly believed that when he hewed the Muslim he trod the high-road to heaven. Such forces caused medieval missions, especially those in Africa, to become the military missions of Christianity. Ancient missions had first been apostolic, then churchly. Modern missions work in the spirit and with the weapons of Jesus, though aiming to keep the energy of the medieval church. But medieval missions in Africa were, as a whole, religious warfare, the military achievements of a church then more militant, more soldierly than ever before or since. For this unchristian

aggressiveness in Africa Islam has itself to blame, for justice and truth brand it the aggressor.

The disdainful tolerance granted to Christianity in Egypt from motives of policy passed away with the first century of the Saracen conquest (640–740). Einhard (777–840) tells us that Charles the Great (742–814) upon discovering "Christians in poverty in Africa and Egypt, at Carthage and Alexandria, had compassion on their wants, and used to send money over-sea to them. The reason he strove so zealously to make friends with kings beyond the seas was that he might gain help and relief for the Christians under their sway". This magnificent meteor, shining in supernal splendor against the blackness of his dark age, was seen in Africa and Asia as well as Europe, and illumined not Christendom alone but Islamry. Victor Hugo was not wholly wrong in saying of Cæsar, Charlemagne and Napoleon: "It takes a thousand years to produce such men". In addition to keeping Christianity alive amid Islamic environments, the great German aided instrumentally in sending the medieval missionary to Africa. Although Charlemagne was the friend of Harun, — khalif of Baghdad, spiritual head of Islam and vicar of Muhammad, — the defender of the cross was animated by the desire to impose the yoke of Christ upon Muslim unbelievers no less than on pagan idolaters. In his empire he required everybody to know or be taught the Christian creed, the Lord's prayer and the orthodox doctrine of the trinity. He laid European foundations for Christianity and civilization. His stoppage of the Saxon and Saracen invasions secured a foothold on this warring planet for Bernard of Clairvaux, Francis of Assisi, Louis IX and Ramon Lull. Against the Teutonic Roman empire Islam and paganism spent their force in vain. No human being ever

rendered greater service to progress than Charlemagne. If modern history began with the coronation of a German barbarian as emperor of the Romans, Charles the Great ranks among the greatest benefactors of Africa.

In the ninth century the Alexandrian patriarch sent five bishops to Kairwan to rekindle its dying embers of Christianity. As late as 1550 the Atlas tribes observed Christian rites.* About 1050 a priest at Carthage complained to the pope that the Muhammadans persecuted him. Gregory VII, to soothe the distress of the Christians and the pride of a Berber prince, wrote missionary-letters in 1053 and 1073. In honeyed phrase the proudest among self-styled vicars of Christ assured the would-be vicar of Muhammad that both worshiped the same God and would meet in Abraham's bosom. The African Christians had long submitted to abstinence from pork and wine and to circumcision, the conformers being called adoptive Arabs (Muzarabes). About 1150 the worship of Christ was perhaps abolished along the Barbary coast, though in 1270 it was claimed that a regiment of Tunisian soldiery consisted of Christian natives†. The throne of the unitarian Almuhades rested on the blindest fanati-

*The fury of the barbarous Muslims and pagans became so great and continued so many ages, that it is a marvel that any memorials survive to attest the grip of Christianity. So far back, however, as 853 we hear of a Christian martyr in Marocco. Among Berber mountaineers traces of Christianity long survived. A church-bell and books of Christian times were regarded with reverence. At Fez a missionary claims to have discovered (nominally) Muhammadan Jews whose ancestors were Christians. Between 840 and 1017 the more formidable fleets of Saracens sallied from Barbary. Constantine, an African Christian, mastered the medical science of Avicenna, which the Arab had himself learned from Greek physicians, and lectured, practiced and wrote at the medical school of Salerno, Italy, the first in Europe. In Sicily the Saracen came in touch with the Norman, — the pagan Scandinavian transformed into a Christian Frenchman. Again, as, in the long run, always, the northman triumphed (1016-1152) over the southron. Since the Sicilian Muslims had received frequent and powerful aid from Africa, Roger II annexed Malta, Tripoli and Tunisia (1122-52). Even Muslim historians speak favorably of his too brief sway. His successors lost these transmarine possessions within fourteen years. The hour of the Teuton in Africa, whether Vandal or Scandinavian, had not come. In fact the entrance of the Normans appears to have hurt African Christianity.

†Marmol-Caravajal, Mas-Latrie and Pavy make statements that seem to imply that even so late as 1535, when Charles V captured Tunis, there were still native Christians.

cism. The Christian princes of Portugal and Spain were intolerant. Hence the annihilation of Christianity, although missionaries occasionally revived the faith among the descendants of Muzarabes.

This account of the first period (750–1095) of medieval Christianity in Africa has flowed beyond its times. Its events, however, are so few and isolated that it seems better to group them apart from the crusades. Meanwhile the crescent had crossed Sahara and risen in Sudan and Zanguebar, while, on the other hand, a great antagonist of Islam had been born (997–1094). Portugal, the child of crusades against the Moor, became a nation in 1094.

II

The Knight, The Monk and The Scholar as Missionaries

The crusades constituted the continuance and climax of the struggle between Islam and Christianity. Two of these religious wars occurred in Egypt, one in North Africa. In themselves and their consequences they rank as grand if grotesque and mistaken missions. As such they call imperiously for consideration among the influences of medieval Christianity upon Africa and its future.

A new spirit had been born in Christendom, — that of papal sovereignty and religious chivalry. Charlemagne, through Godfrey of Bouillon, his direct descendant, was represented in the crusades. The love of Christ and of fellow-Christians in the orient; the warlike instincts of the Teuton, reinforced by the fiery fanaticism of the Mahound; and the Roman genius of the papacy all united to raise the Christian knight almost to the level of monk and priest. The fell touch of Islam had poisoned the temper of Christianity; for as early as 1030

a Moorish military order existed in Spain that furnished a hint for the organization of similar institutions among Christians a century later. These Muslim brethren, vowed to perpetual war against the unbeliever, and stationed along the Christian marches, were distinguished for simplicity of attire and austere and frugal habits. When Christianity seized this weapon, Islam found that its poisoned poniard penetrated its own vitals, for a military order of Christendom ruined the prestige and prowess of the Ottoman*.

Portugal and Spain took no part in the eastern crusades, but did yeoman service at home. Englishmen, Flemings, Franks and Italians shared in these battles. When Tolosa (1212) proved a second Tours for Islam, and ended two centuries of invasion by the Berber and Moor of Africa, thousands of auxiliaries from England, Flanders, France and Italy fought under the banners of Aragon and Castile. Pascal II (1099–1118), like a man of sense, told the Spanish adventurers embarking for Palestine that they could serve religion much better in their peninsula. In the west the Iberian nationalities, in the Levant the Franks, carried on the war, and hurled Islam back from eastern Europe for nearly four centuries. So preëminently were the oriental crusades the achievement of France, seconded only slightly by England and Germany, that since then if not indeed since Tours the Muslim honors all Europeans with the proud designation of Franks.

The instinct of a statesman led Amaury, king of Jerusalem (1162–73), to fix his thoughts on the conquest of Egypt. This would save the Latin kingdoms from the pressure of enemies north and south, and open a country rich in resources, for five centuries closed to Europe.

*Cf. p. 106.

But royal avarice defeated the vast design. The Lateran council of 1179 declared that the capture of Damietta, the key of Egypt, must be the first step in every crusade. This determination introduced the war of ambition. The crusades of Godfrey and Louis stand alone as the spiritual wars of Christendom against Islamry in the Levant. During the interval Saladin of Egypt proclaimed the holy war in behalf of Islam, and turned the tide against Christianity. In this Kurd, Islam found its chief and hero. His fanaticism was as impassioned and genuine as that of Godfrey or Louis. The expulsion of the Christians was his regnant idea and unswerving passion. Apart from open war and the hatred inspired by calculation or wrath, he was gentle toward the vanquished and weak, generous and moderate, just and compassionate to his subjects, faithful to his engagements and an admirer of enemies in whom he recognized courage, loyalty and loftiness of mind. For Christian knighthood in its ideals he felt such reverence that lion-hearted Richard knighted him. Christendom rightly regarded Saladin as the incarnate life of Islamry.

Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) declared that Islam, having lasted six hundred and sixty-six years, the mystic number that showed it to be the beast of *Apocalypse*, was tottering and ready to vanish. Only a little while before he had thanked a sultan for his moderation to Christians and his respect for their religion. Yet in 1215 he preached a crusade against the Muslim. Three years later the English, French and Germans captured Damietta, but it was reserved for Francis of Assisi, the most beautiful soul among medieval Christians, to win victories. The Italian who had just founded the first Christian society for missions, the first true missionaries since Adelard and Ansgar, Cyril and Methodius had made

Charlemagne's wonderful and spacious times emphatically an age of missions, proved himself a Christly follower of the Prince of Peace through his spiritual triumph over the Egyptian follower of Allah the proud.

With Francis the saint, medieval missions began to pass beyond the mephitic atmosphere in which they had stifled for four hundred years. Still another new idea dawned upon the medieval horizon. The old monk had said: To labor is to pray, but had at last come to throw the stress upon profession. The new monk repeated the large utterance of the makers of Europe, but his life put the emphasis upon practice. Action, noble, sublime and godlike, began to take the place of mystic meditation; the imitation of Christ to cease from seclusion and to consist of service. Dominic and Francis in their knightly, martial temper were children of the crusades. Through the stark Spaniard and the genial Italian the holy war charged anew against Islam in Africa; but Francis and the African successors of Dominic and Francis fought by spiritual weapons. They put on the whole armor of God. They girt their loins with truth. They had on the breast-plate of righteousness. They shod themselves with the footing of the gospel of peace. They took the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, the sword of the Spirit. They provided neither purse nor scrip. They were the self-supporting, revivalist, faith-cure missionaries of their day.

Francis (1182-1226) remained a knight in soul after his acceptance of Christ as Lord and Master. He became the Bayard of the medieval church. More truly than Kempis he imitated Christ. He had hesitated between action and contemplation, between saving others and saving himself; but the mission of love prevailed, and he chose an active career. Longing for the un-

known; thirst for adventure; and, like a good soldier of Christ, daring and endurance of hardship inspired his missionary activity. When the sultan of Algeria and Marocco sustained irreparable defeat at Tolosa, Francis felt that this victory would be valueless if not followed by the victory of Christ. Two or three years later (1214-15) he attempted to visit Marocco, but fell so ill in Spain that return home became imperative. Yet his endeavor must not be undervalued as unimportant. It shows that Francis was not possessed by the blind and frenzied zeal that courts death. In 1219 he entered Egypt as his personal mission-field. The immorality of the crusaders almost broke his heart, but he and his many companions labored as missionaries to these home-heathen for more than a year. His mission to the Muslims, although lasting only several days, forms a most remarkable episode in medieval African missions.

Cardinal Vitry wrote: "For days together he announced the word of God to the Saracens, but with little success. Then the sultan in secret asked him to entreat God to reveal by miracle which is the best religion". The enthusiastic chapter that Vitry devotes to the Franciscans* is unfortunately too lengthy for reproduction; but these are the statements of an eye-witness. Vitry and William of Tyre knew nothing of Francis proposing to establish the superiority of Christianity by the ordeal of fire if the Muslim *imams* would also pass through the flames. Such appeals to signs and wonders were not characteristic of Francis. Possibly the sultan challenged the stranger to prove his divine commission by miracles. About 1250 Bonaventura, the adoring biographer of Francis, misunderstood it as his voluntary offer. Whatever the fact, the Islamites treated the Franciscans with

*Beller's ed., Douai, 1597, c. 32, p. 349.

the utmost courtesy. They considered Francis insane; and since oriental peoples regard insanity as a visitation from heaven, the sultan's grave face concealed the compassion he felt.

It is interesting as well as instructive to compare the account of Chalippe, who wrote when legend and martyr-worship had cast their halo of unreality around this child of God. Since Leo XIII personally approved Sabatier's life of Francis on its merits, and an official church-body disapproved it only after learning that the author is a Protestant, the reader has papal sanction for interpreting Chalippe through Sabatier.

When Francis at last found himself in Egypt, he thought he had grasped the martyr's palm. In the judgment of Vitry excess of fervor exercised such an effect that he dared, protected solely by faith, to venture into the infidel camp. Great was the danger. The sultan had promised a handsome reward in gold to any who should bring him a Christian's head. Such peril merely inflamed zeal. Francis sought martyrdom. He betook himself to prayer. He arose full of confidence, saying: "Since Thou, O Lord, art with me, I will fear no evil, even though I walk in the midst of the shadow of death". On setting out with his fearless comrade two sheep met him. These caused such delight that he exclaimed: "Brother, trust in the Lord! The word is being fulfilled in us that saith: Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves." A few paces further the Saracens seized the missionaries. Francis informed his captors that he was a Christian, and bade them lead him to their master. Khamil asked: "Who sent thee and for what purpose?" Francis answered: "It is the Most High who sends me, that I may teach thee and thy people the way of salvation by pointing out the truths of the gos-

pel." Then he preached the trinity and the atonement. The Saracen so admired the saint's courage that he listened several days, and invited him to stay. "If thou and thy people," Francis replied, "will be converted, I will remain for the love of Christ. If ye hesitate between His law and that of Muhammad, let a fire be lit. I will go into it with the priests, that ye may see which is the faith to follow". Khamil did not believe any of his priests would suffer torment for their religion. Francis added: "An thou wilt promise that thyself and people will embrace the Christian faith in case I come forth safe and sound, I will enter alone. If I am burnt, be it imputed to my sins. If God preserve me, thou shalt acknowledge Christ as the true God and Savior". Khamil declined this challenge, too, lest it arouse sedition, but offered rich presents. Francis treated them as dirt. His other-worldliness inspired the Muslim with such awe for the religious that he entreated the saint to distribute his gifts among poor Christians, or to the churches, for the salvation of his soul. Francis persisted in refusal. Since he saw no chance for effecting good or winning martyrdom, he thought it time to leave. The Muhammadan now feared lest the Christian convert some of his soldiery, who would join the crusaders. In private the kingly Islamite bade the knightly friar pray that God make known to him (Khamil) what religion was most agreeable to Him, that he might embrace it. Then the Egyptian had the Italian escorted with honor to the Christian camp. A Franciscan, himself a contemporary, claims that Francis visited Khamil a second time, and baptized him as a Christian. From the spread of the Franciscans among the Saracens immediately after the mission of Francis, it might be inferred that Khamil granted leave to preach. Vitry informs us that the

Muslims received the missionaries well, provided them cheerfully with the necessaries of life, and listened willingly when they spoke of Christ and His doctrine. But if they assailed Muhammad as an infidel or liar, they were beaten and expelled or slain.

With this graphic and vivid portrayal by Chalippe, Francis, the first known missionary to Islam, passes from Africa. But through Franciscan missioners and the Capuchins his influence continues. Had his followers, to say nothing of the crusaders, possessed the actual qualities of their master, Egypt and North Africa might again have become Christian countries. But the bigotry of the missionary and the dissoluteness of the warrior caused Islam to spit upon the religion that resulted in unholy lives.

Thirty years later (1249) a monkish king of France became an African evangelist. This was Louis IX (1226-70). On the Nile he lost his liberty, at Tunis his life. Yet his Christian character and endeavors make him, despite the utter failure of his missions, a force in the evangelization of Africa.

Championship of the cross in Egypt was the most difficult of enterprises, for the chief strength of Islam now resided there, and Louis was wanting in the clear vision and iron will requisite for martial success. He was the most devoted slave, the most worthy representative, of the moral and religious passion inspiring the crusades. He alone was prompted by the spirit that had animated Godfrey. Only in Louis, Charlemagne's indirect descendant, did the spirit of piety revive. His crusades were not popular movements but personal achievements. He was the spiritual knight-errant to whom the rescue of an empty sepulcher was a quest for the holy grail. He took pains to rid himself of vast

armies. He spent two years in preparation, and carried a picked army of fifty thousand feudal chevaliers and religious knights; but Louis the crusader was neither general nor king but the most fervent of Christians, the most splendid of knights. Under a profound conviction that God would fight his battles, and that, if not, the result must be solely due to his sins, he formed no military plans.

Accompanied by his queen he captured Damietta without a blow in 1249. It was his single success. After five months of insanity and wickedness on the part of the people, he marched for Babylon or Old Cairo. In their ignorance the masses mistook it for Babylon on the Euphrates. The crusaders flattered themselves that they would avenge the sufferings of the Hebrew captives eighteen hundred years before, and find immense booty. The movement met with the inevitable failure its blundering deserved. The one redeeming scene of the tragedy was the Christian virtue of Louis. He refused to forsake his people. When taken prisoner his lofty bearing and piety inspired the Muslims with awe. The sultan freed him from chains, and treated him with magnificence. The Saracens confessed that such sufferings as his would have made them renounce Muhammad.

The sultan demanded the surrender of Damietta and of the last Christian posts in Syria, with a ransom of $1,969,660. Louis answered that he could not surrender what belonged to Frederic II. Of ten thousand Christian prisoners the Egyptians allowed only those to live who embraced Islam, and massacred the vast majority before his eyes. He was threatened with torture and with being pilloried for Muhammadan mobs. "I am your prisoner," he quietly replied, "do what ye will". The Muslims retorted that he bore himself as if he had *them*

in prison. But their sovereign was so pleased with such spirit that he relinquished his request for restitution of the European holdings in Palestine. Louis said that since he was not a man to be bought and sold, he would surrender Damietta for the deliverance of his person, but would willingly ransom the remnant of his people. "By my faith", the Memluk exclaimed, "the Frank is liberal not to have haggled about so huge a sum. *I* will give one hundred thousand livres [$393,332] toward the ransom". When his emirs assassinated Turan, and one asked knighthood of Louis, he replied: "I will never confer knighthood on an infidel. Let the emir turn Christian. I will take him to France, enrich him and knight him". In their admiration for this adamantean piety the emirs had an idea of making the Christian king sultan of Egypt; and Louis would not have refused the offer. His kingship in France, the success of Roger in Tunis and the alliances between Christian and Muslim potentates argue that the sway of a Christian sultan at the center of Islamry might have been fortunate for Africa and Europe, for kings and people. In 1250 the French monarch quitted Africa, but solaced himself in Palestine by a pilgrimage to Nazareth and, if we could credit Duchesne and Tillemont, by the conversion of many Muhammadans.

After his return, humbled but honored, with a serene renown that was to place his heroic name among martyrs and saints, his confessor saw that his character and conduct when contrasted to the bearing and belief of his early manhood were as gold to silver. Having found that a Saracen sultan had collected a library for the philosophers of Islam, Louis was ashamed of Christians having less zeal for instruction in truth than infidels for rendering themselves dexterous in falsehood. He had

the works of Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Jerome and other orthodox teachers put into Holy Chapel. These he read and loaned. For seven years he seemed to think no more of crusades. But earth is often still without, while fire rends its frame beneath. The dreams of imagination and the fever of fanaticism seethed within the secret soul of Louis while as monarch he played his part so stanchly. When Clement IV encouraged him (1268), he yielded again to his yearning for the rescue of the holy places. At Northampton, England, a council was called in aid of the crusade; and Edward I, (then prince, conqueror of Wales in 1283) pledged himself to the enterprise. But preparation was hap-hazard, with full trust in divine providence and with utter forgetfulness that God does not absolve men from foresight. With sixty thousand men Louis left France in 1270. At Sardinia Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis and king of Sicily, advised that Tunis be made the first point of attack. It covered the western Mediterranean with pirates, was the ally of Egypt and might be made a land-road to the Nile. It was of supreme importance to Sicily that her African neighbor be subjected to Christian control. These political considerations were reinforced by piety. Louis believed it possible to convert Muhammad Mustansir of Tunis and to annex his principality to Christendom. The Musulman had given occasion for the fancy. He had several times dispatched envoys to ward off invasion. They gave Louis to understand that their master asked nothing better than to become a Christian. He would the more willingly embrace the Faith, should an opportunity occur that might save his honor and secure the welfare of his people. Louis, like noble natures easily credulous of good in others, welcomed the prospect of Muhammad's conver-

sion with rapturous transports. He had often vowed that he would live in a dungeon all his life, if such sacrifice could bring Tunis to Christ. He believed that if he visited Tunis suddenly, its ruler could not refuse baptism. Ah! he exclaimed, if I could but see myself the sponsor of so great a godson!

Possibly something might have been accomplished toward realizing this object peacefully, had not the French admiral wantonly provoked hostilities. In accordance with medieval laws of war, the royal almoner proclaimed possession of the territory "in the name of Christ and of Louis His servant". The Muslim by a martial message dispelled the pious illusion as to converting him. He at the head of one hundred thousand men would require baptism on the field of blood. From Egypt and North Africa the Muhammadans flocked to the succor of Islam. Bibars, the Egyptian sultan, announced that he was about to march to the relief of Tunis. His Barkan troops received orders to set forward. Louis acted upon the defensive, and ruined the expedition. The climate, the lack of water, the salt provisions, the sand-storms and Saharan winds consummated the ruin. Dysentery and the plague broke out. Men died like sheep. Famine, fatigue and pestilence smote high and low. Louis himself succumbed. His life had been a prayer; his death became a prayer for others. To the ambassadors of Michael Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople and head of the Greek church, he expressed an earnest desire for the reunion of Christendom, and promised that his successor should do everything to compass this object. His influence inspired both envoys to endeavors for uniting the Greek and Latin communions. After this, Louis prayed unceasingly for his poor people, though his mind also

busied itself with the holy war. "Jerusalem, Jerusalem", he sighed, adding: "We will go to Jerusalem".* Was he already viewing the heavenly Jerusalem? As death came, Louis had his attendants place him, attired in hair-cloth, on a bed of ashes. After an African stay of but a single month he died with his eyes toward heaven, exclaiming: "I will enter Thy house, O Lord, and worship in Thy holy tabernacle."

> Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart.
> So didst thou travel on life's common way
> In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
> The lowliest duties on herself did lay.†

Strange irony of fate! Blest omen of peace between Christianity and Islam! The Christian king has for generations been revered by the Moors of Carthage as a Muslim saint. All recollection of him as a crusader has faded out. In their own fashion the Muslims canonized the Christian saint as a holy prince who, converted to Islam, came to Africa to die a Muhammadan. A holy retreat was ages after founded in his honor. There is also an ancient mosque devoted to the worship of Jesus. When Christianity itself, in Lesseps, the father of Count Lesseps, built a memorial chapel in 1841 on the traditional spot where Louis expired, the native residents were delighted.

The death of Louis and the papal legate robbed the crusade of its religious motive and strength, and encouraged the Tunisians. But their attacks brought defeat upon themselves, and Mustansir purchased peace. He left the crusaders at liberty to carry their arms into Egypt, paid the war-expenses, liberated all Christian captives, freed French commerce from taxation, and

*Cf. *King Henry IV.*, part 2, act 4, scene 4, last lines.

†*Milton:* a sonnet by Wordsworth (abridged). Even Voltaire found himself forced to say of St Louis: It is not given to man to carry virtue to a higher point.

granted liberty of residence, with religious tolerance and Christian missions, to all Christians. A few days after signing the treaty, Edward arrived too late.

If Egypt and North Africa were not Christianized by medieval missions, it was not for lack of apostles and martyrs. As early as 1261 the Muslims had slain two hundred Franciscans. Not long after, one hundred and ninety Dominicans had received the baptism of blood from Islam. For centuries (1100–1500) peaceable soldiers of Christ as well as warriors for the cross hasted to these African Aceldamas that others might gain the victory whose price was their blood. So intense, so widespread was the Christian zeal of these terrible times that in England alone and during a single century (1100–1200) arose thirty-nine houses of Trinitarians, vowed "to carry alms into Barbary for the redemption of slaves*". Whatever love could inspire or valor attempt was dared. Though the blood of martyrs did not become the seed of a church this was chiefly because it fell on sterile soil. So little was Christianity discouraged by perpetual failure, that tribulation attracted missionaries to this thankless land. Some were captured before they touched its shore. Others landed, — to fall almost in sight of their ship. Still others bore hope and consolation to captives whose bonds they lightened by sharing them, or wasted in dungeons which they changed to shrines. Nor were such toils vain. The mighty dead of ages past inspire the conquests of the living. When Louis exclaimed to the titular bishop of Tunis: "For the love of God let us obtain the preaching of the gospel in Tunis", — he helped win a share for France in the regeneration of Africa.

*Yet a recent writer on the hundred years of Protestant missions since Carey's beginning has this assertion: "For almost twelve hundred years [after 640] no Christian voice was lifted to call this continent to repentance".

The twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries possessed different characteristics in their bearings upon African missions. In the first period the work was humanitarian and philanthropic rather than evangelistic, consisting of the redemption of Christian captives by charitable associations. The next age was noted for the attempts to spread Christianity by the sword, and distinguished by the institution of religious military orders. The thirteenth century had an era of genuine missions, which recall apostolic missions and anticipate the spiritual and scientific methods of modern missions. In the following era (1418-98) the marine exploration of Atlantic Africa marks the beginning of the end of medieval missions.

Among the redemptive orders the Mercedarians and Trinitarians rank as most conspicuous. The Mercedarians (1223) bound themselves to give their fortunes, serve as soldiers and, if necessary, sacrifice their persons for the redemption of captives. Peter Nolasco, their founder, actually did so in Africa. The Trinitarians (founded in 1198) in 1200 ransomed their first company, redeeming captives from Marocco. There were many such societies, somewhat analogous to the modern Christian Association, international in their European extension, and prolonging their activity as Good Samaritans into our times. Their success was considerable. The Mercedarians between 1492 and 1692 rescued seventeen thousand captives, among them Cervantes, himself plotting the liberation of twenty-five thousand fellow-prisoners. The Trinitarians before completing their career redeemed thirty thousand Christians.

Instead of this defensive warfare the military orders took the offensive. Bergier, a papal theologian, scores a significant point as to these armed advocates of the

church. The intention and the object must not be confounded. The conduct of the knights and that of the missioners were two different things. The knights were never constituted preachers; the missioners never armed. The barbarians were wild beasts. It was necessary to make them men and to reduce them by force, before it could be expected to make them Christians. To the knight belonged the first of these exploits; for the missioner was reserved the rest. When the warriors had done their part, they remained to protect the missioners in the peaceful performance of their tasks*. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153) wrote to the Templars: "The soldiers of Christ safely fight the battles of their Lord, neither fearing sin in killing their enemies nor dreading danger in death. The soldier is safe when he slays, safer when he dies. When he slays, it profits Christ; when he dies it profits himself. . . . Yet even pagans are not to be killed, if in any other way they can be restrained from hostility and oppression to the faithful". The majority of these brotherhoods owed their origin to the crusades, especially those of the twelfth century; but the Knights-Hospitaller, afterward called the Knights of St John and finally known as the Knights of Malta, originated in 1048. Orders bearing these names arose after 1798, and claim affiliation with this medieval brotherhood. If the claim be valid, the Knights of St John are still serving Africa as of old with benevolence and charity, for their German descendants assist the Sisters of St John, the lay graduates of Kaiserswerth hospital whose deaconesses, nurses and teachers toil to-day in the lands of the crusade†. In 1119 came the Knights-Templar, a purely military organ-

**Dict. Theol., ordres militaires*, v. 6.
†See Chapter 17, pp. 587, 589 (*note*).

ization that did good sword-play in Egypt; in 1158 the Order of Calatrava, Castile, for the extension of Christianity; in 1177 that of Alcantara, also Spanish, for the conversion of the Moors; and in 1192 the Teutonic Knights. Among the orders especially in touch with Africa and its Muslims were those of Avis in Portugal, Montjoie and San Iago in Spain, and St John. Modern Prussia itself is partly a creation of the crusades. From 1245 to 1450 the Teutonic Knights Christianized it. About 1525 it became the hereditary fief of their grand-master. Through him, through Brandenburg, through Luther the African missions of Germany continue the work of German crusaders and of Leopold of Austria. But Africa is more deeply indebted to the Knights of Malta than to any other military missionaries. At Malta they destroyed the prestige of Ottoman power in the Mediterranean, when (1565) they repulsed Suleiman and (1571) took part in the sea-fight of Lepanto.* Had these warlike monks been backed at Malta as Christian nations ought to have backed them, they could have annihilated the Barbary scourge of Christendom then and there.

In 1217 occurred the definitive organization of Franciscan missions. The needs of the church and the times so inspired Francis, who in turn satisfied them, that Dominic transformed his order into missioners, mendicant monks and preachers. The Franciscans had scarcely existed forty years when traces of their work appeared in every quarter of the known world. Alexander IV enumerated the territories of the Saracens, Ethiopians, Nubians and Kopts as among those where the order had (1258) established missions. The Dominicans, according to Innocent IV (1253), were evangelizing

*See p. 91. Malta itself is more African, really, than European.

Kopts and Saracens, and soon spread into Abyssinia. In 1219 Egidio and a few fellow-Franciscans visited Tunis; but its Christians in fear of compromise from their zeal hurried them back. Others went to Marocco. A mania for martyrdom prevailed, and in 1220 Francis heard of the martyrdom of his Maroccan missionaries. They were the first Franciscans to win the heavenly palm and wear the purple passion-flower. The brethren set forth with the special purpose among others of converting the ruler of Fez. They preached to the people, but declaimed against Muhammad. Their sermons were the rudest of apostrophes. Imprisonment and unsuccessful attempts to banish them had no effect. After many adventures, including [?] the miracle of striking water from a rock, they forced the Musulman to martyr them. Their thirst for martyrdom was the madness of suicide, since the sultan and his subjects showed forbearance. As very different sentiments would have been justifiable in the vanquished of Tolosa, such tolerance gives a pleasant impression of Moorish character and civilization. When besought to embrace Islam, a Franciscan spat contempt. When the sultan asked: "Are ye those impious persons who despise the 'true' Faith, and blaspheme the prophet of God?" they answered: "O king, we have no contempt for the true Faith. We are ready to suffer and die in its defense. Thy faith we detest, and the wicked man its author". The king replied: "These women will I give as wives (pointing to beautiful women) with large sums of money, and ye shall be highly esteemed if ye embrace the law of Mahomet. If not, die by the sword!" Without hesitancy the Christians retorted: "We want neither! Keep those for yourself. Be Christ for us. Subject us to what torture you please. Take away our lives. All suffering is light when we think of

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the glories of heaven". Then the scimitar clave their skulls.

Of Dominicans and Franciscans Matthew Paris (1249), when they had been founded hardly forty years, wrote: "It is terrible, it is an awful presage, that in four hundred years the monastic orders have not so entirely degenerated as these fraternities". If they did these things in a green tree, what should be done in the dry? If these missioners of 1250 were unprofitable servants, what must their brethren in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have been? It needs, also, to be noted in this connection that no Franciscan author contemporary with these first Franciscan missionaries pictures them as knowing all languages by means of divine inspiration. No less a Roman author and scholar than Shea (1854) wrote: "In Muhammadan countries Roman missioners have labored almost in vain, no considerable number of followers of the prophet having ever been won". But Sabatier not wrongly exclaims: "Is not devotion always blind? That a furrow be fecund it must have blood, tears such as Augustine called the blood of the soul".

Among the rarest events in Christian missions are the combination of the scientific spirit with zeal for the expansion of Christianity and the application of science to enlarging the church and refuting non-Christian faiths. Yet this is the modern event, worthy of the divine future, that occurred in the smoke and thunder of the crusades. The Alexandrines had sapped classic paganism by undermining classic culture. For the first time in a thousand years their method was employed anew. Philosophy again became a missionary. The creation and use of this weapon give its maker unique standing, and constitute an epoch in missions (1235-1315). The man was Lull of Majorca, the time the thirteenth cen-

tury*. His name was almost used to conjure with, and for two hundred years remained a flashing light.

East of Valencia and north of Algiers, nearly equidistant from Barbary and Spain, lie the Afric-European isles known as the Baleares†. Here in 1235 was born Ramon Lull, a hero of the Faith, a David of Christianity, once famous, afterward more forgotten than mummied Pharaohs. The most remarkable European living between 1200 and 1400, this successor of Pantænus, Clement and Origen remained for two centuries the best-known, perhaps the most influential, personage of Christendom‡.

Of noble parentage and possessing the most variant traits of mind and soul, traits seldom meeting in one personality, Lull played the sensualist and poet until conversion at thirty electrified the latent powers of his marvelous mind. The new birth, be it noted, sprang from a passion for Jesus. Lull's faith was not sacramental but personal and vital, more Catholic than Roman. The new man determined to devote his energies and gifts to the highest. He believed this to be missions to Islam. The father had fought the Moors; the son's first Christian thought was: Christ for the Muslims. Yet how could the ignorant layman be fit for such a task? Might he not compose a work on the evidences of Christianity? This would demonstrate its truth in opposition to the errors of infidels§. Such a book, how-

*These words were written in February, 1895. In April *The Missionary Review* said: "As Dr. A. J. Gordon has shown, the hour has plainly struck to remember Raymund Lull". The preparation for writing this sketch began in July, 1894, when its author was unaware of any utterances of Drs. Gordon or Pierson as to Lull. Lull's own spelling of his name is followed. The Spanish form is the real one.

†Here in antiquity the natives had been famous as slingers, the Greeks naming the islands those of the sling-men. Carthage and Rome had owned them in turn. The Moors held them for centuries, (798-1232.)

‡Ramon Lull the alchemist was not our Ramon Lull the missionary. Of Lull the alchemist little is known. Amat considers Barcelona, Spain, more probably the missionary's birthplace than Palma, Majorca.

§In connection with this idea afterwards came that of a universal science.

ever, to be understood by Saracens, must be in Arabic. So another project unfolded itself. He would summon the pope and the monarchs of Christendom to establish foundations in monasteries for the study of Arabic and other languages spoken by heathens or pagans. From such schools would go missionaries to all lands. This idea of schools for missioners was not wholly new. Adelard, a cousin of Charlemagne, had in the ninth century founded a mission-college expressly as a nursery of evangelical laborers in the conversion of the northern nations; and Ansgar, apostle of the north, was among its greatest ornaments. Honorius III (1216-27) had invited the bishops to select learned and zealous ecclesiastics, and to have them trained at Rome for missions throughout the world. But neither Adelard nor Honorius quite anticipated the nineteenth century. This was reserved for Lull, born six hundred years before his time. His idea, original with himself, combined those of the churchly scholar and the ecclesiastical statesman, but looked to the laity as the brawn and sinew of missions, and united religion and science in their service. In at least one respect — insistence on the laity — Lull the layman and merchant was a medieval prototype of Moody the modern business-man and lay evangelist.

The apostolic succession fell from Francis of Assisi, forty years dead, upon Ramon Lull. From the mendicant orders the new apostle to Islam partly drew his passionate, sustained and unselfish devotion, most authorities asserting that he became a Franciscan. But Eymeric, a Catalonian Dominican in 1334 and Aragon's inquisitor after 1356, expressly says that Lull was a lay merchant. The Balearian followed the Italian in renouncing the world (1266). He retained only enough property to support his wife and children, and left home,

intending never to return. To qualify himself for the accomplishment of his plans, he proposed a scientific course at Paris, but began these studies in Majorca. After many long pilgrimages he established himself in a hermitage on Mount Roda near Barcelona. Purchasing a Saracen slave, that good might come of evil and the end justify the means, he studied the Arabic language and literature under him for nine years! He also remedied his early neglect of education by diligent study of the Latin, Hebrew and Chaldee languages and literatures and of philosophy and theology. His vividness of imagination and warmth of feelings found delight in logic, despite its dry and empty forms, and filled them with meaning. He first traced the outlines of a universal formal science. This was his *Great*, or *General*, *Method*, an introduction to a strictly scientific demonstration of Christianity. Lull's cardinal principle was the unity of all knowledge and the supremacy of reason. He would show that Christianity was not only reconcilable with philosophy but demonstrable by philosophy. He would found a science through which Christian truth would so demonstrate itself that every reasonable mind must admit it. Like Abelard a century before, Lull, who united logical acumen with deep mysticism and glowing religious sentiment, attempted to reconcile theology to science, and defended the position of science in alliance with religion as contrasted to that of isolated belief. In Abelard, however, it was doubt, in Lull the hope of finding a universal argument against unbelief, that inspired philosophy. With the latter all proceeded from one religious idea. His belief in missions as the supreme business of the Christian church actuated his life, guided his plans and welded aims and endeavors the most unlike.

Lull published his discovery at Montpellier (then of

Majorca) and at Paris, delivered lectures on his method, and translated his book into Arabic. In 1275 he persuaded the Balearic king to found a monastery where thirteen Franciscans should be taught Arabic and be trained as missioners to Muhammadans. Finding ten years later that he could not inaugurate united effort for the foundation of a missionary-school in every monastery, he felt constrained to fling himself as a forlorn hope into the deadly, imminent breach. He must embark alone in his holy enterprise, and go single-handed as a missionary among the unbelievers. So he engaged passage (1287) from Genoa to North Africa*. His peril as a missionary would be terrible. Despite the tolerance granted to Christianity and Christian missions by the Tunisian sovereign in 1270, the treaty was worthless and the crusade of Louis IX had inflamed Muslim fanaticism. No wonder the flesh flinched in weakness, though, unlike Jonah, the Hebrew missionary, the strong spirit was willing! It was not until a third attempt that he succeeded in forcing himself (1291-92?) to sail†.

On arriving in Tunis he instituted a medieval parliament of religions‡. As a comparative theologian he invited the Muslim scholars together, explained his purpose of comparing Christianity and Islam, and stated his readiness to accept the Arabian faith if he found its doctrines the stronger. The conference resulted as successfully as those at Athens in 54 and Chicago in 1893. When Paul's Epicurean and Stoic listeners heard the advocate of Christianity mention the resurrection of the

*What would he have thought, could he have known that in this Italian seaport was to be born, only one hundred and fifty years later, the finder of worlds unknown, perchance undreamed of, whence mighty spiritual forces should come for the Christianization of Muhammadan Africa?

†Monnier, however, states that he sailed in 1287 on the very next day.

‡About A. D. 1000, a Muslim meeting of this kind had convened at Baghdad. (*Am. Jour. of Sem. Lang.*, v. 12. no. 1. p. 108.) The Buddhists of Hindustan in the third century before Christ held the first of religious parliaments.

dead, some mocked; others said: We will hear you again; and Paul departed. In the Chicago parliament the champions of each faith became more firmly convinced than ever of the superiority of their belief. So at Tunis. Learned Muhammadans, sure they should convert Lull to Islam, flocked around him. He was certain he should prove Christianity to be the only rational religion. They advanced the logic of Muhammadan evidences. He endeavored to refute their argument from reason, and said: "Every wise man must acknowledge that to be the true religion which ascribes the greatest perfection to God, gives the fittest conception of each single attribute, and most fully demonstrates the equality and harmony among all". Then he showed that but for the trinity and the incarnation men could not understand God's perfection and the harmony between His attributes.

So far this had been a high-toned intellectual and spiritual debate. But when Lull touched the aching point of the controversy between Christianity and Islam, a storm burst to which the winds of the Chicago congress of religions were zephyrs. It smote, it shattered, it scattered the possibility of building a religious raft from rickety planks of compromise. The danger to Islam from Lull's zeal for making converts was pointed out to the sovereign, and his death determined upon. Religious tolerance did not reveal itself. But one of the Tunisian wise men spoke of the respect due to intellectual ability, and remarked: "We would praise the zeal of a Muhammadan who should go among Christians to convert them to the true Faith. We can not but honor the same zeal in a Christian for the spread of that religion which to him appears the true one". This intercession changed death to banishment. Lull, however, so earnestly de-

sired the salvation of the scholars with whom he had argued, that he was sanguine of many conversions. He stowed himself away like a wharf-rat in the harbor, despite the decree that if ever seen again in Tunis he should be stoned to death, and spent three months of perilous hiding in work on his scientific system.

For several years he lectured on this at Naples. When Celestin V (1294) became pope, his piety inspired Lull with new hope. Could not he push missions? It might not be. Celestin's time was too short to inaugurate Lull's plan, while Boniface VIII (1294-1303) exerted little effort for religious interests. Repulsed at Rome, Lull labored from 1296 to 1306 wherever the gate of opportunity opened, — in Majorca, Cyprus, Armenia, or in French and Italian universities.

The year 1307 found him at Bugie, an Algerian metropolis of Muhammadan empire. He proclaimed that "Christianity is the only true religion, but the doctrine of Muhammad false". This denunciation of the Arab prophet was a strategic and tactical error. It prejudiced the populace against the missioner and his religion. As he preached to the multitude, a mob made ready to stone the Christian, but Hamar the judge arrested him. The jurist was versed in Muslim philosophy and theology, and challenged the scholastic to produce his evidences for Christianity. Lull met the Muhammadan with a metaphysical argument from the nature and person of God. If you, he reasoned, deny the doctrine of the trinity, you must say that till creation (which began in time), God's goodness was inactive. This makes His perfections dependent, not absolute; temporal, not eternal; outside Himself, not within. But the highest, the perfect good is that which communicates itself; and God is perfection; therefore His good-

ness, love and self-sufficiency can not be conceived as inactive. They must have acted before creation; they must have had something to act upon. This must have been God, because He is eternal and infinite; so God must exist in three persons.

Islam answered with the dungeon. During six months of close confinement many attempts were made by Hamar and others to convert Lull. They disputed the advantages of Christianity, and promised great wealth and honors if he would embrace Islam. To all advances Lull replied: "I promise *you* the greatest riches and everlasting life, if you will forsake this false religion and believe in Christ". He also proposed that each party write in proof of its faith.* While composing his tractate in the fond fancy that argument could conquer conviction in favor of faith, the ruler expelled him. At Pisa he was highly honored, and prosecuted his missionary-labors with unremitting zeal. He rewrote his treatise for the pope and cardinals, that they might know the Muslim argument with proselytes from Christianity. Islam was then making a peaceable propaganda, more successful, too, in numbers than that of Christianity. Through bribes of wealth and women and through reasoning the Musulmans won many converts; "and since Christians neither take pains nor wish to aid Saracens who become Christians, ten Christians and more become Saracens for every Saracen turning Christian. Of this we have experience in Egypt, where one-third of the soldiery of the sultan is said to have been Christians". Islam is, indeed, as its own votaries have called it from the first, "the easy way", for it makes provision for lust. As early as 830 Kindi, an Arab Nestorian and defender

*His idea evidently was that of Job: "Oh! that my words were written. Oh! that they were printed in a book . . . Oh! that one would hear me. Behold my signature; let the Almighty answer. Oh! that I had the writing of mine adversary".

of Christianity, had challenged the apologist for Islam to produce a single instance of proselytism from Christianity that was caused without worldly motives and rewards*. The fact stood undenied.

At an age when most men are preparing to meet their Maker, Ramon Lull seemed to stand on the threshold of success. Confronted for five-and-forty years with obstacles that might daunt even the dauntless, reviled by Muhammadans whom he would relieve more bitterly than by Christians whose monopoly of religious truth he broke, he labored with serene and starry courage for the betterment of Islamry and the honor of Christendom and Christ. He won popular support for his project, and obtained letters recommending it to the head of the church. Pious nobles and women of Genoa offered thirty thousand guilders, but Clement V (1305-14) vouchsafed no encouragement†. The council of Vienne (1311) proved more helpful. It passed an ordinance for the establishment of professorships in oriental languages to promote conversion of Jews and Saracens. The papacy actually instituted linguistic missionary-schools of Arabic, Chaldee and Hebrew in cities where the pontifical court resided and in the universities of Oxford, Paris and Salamanca. The missionary laid a foundation for linguistic and philological study. But seventy-odd years had worn and wearied Lull's brain. Possibly he had a long latent strain of madness. Certainly his mind was now suffering in balance and soundness. He had wished about 1300 to unite all orders of religious knights in a single body and to repeat the attempt to build up the kingdom of heaven by the sword. Yet before 1270

*But compare Fluegel's *Al-Kindi*, Leipzig, 1857 and Patton's *Ahmed ibn Hanbal*, Leiden, 1897.

†What in modern money was the value of the Genoan guilder of the fourteenth century?

he had perceived that such attempts must forever fail. He also desired to die while promulgating Christianity. In 1314, returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Egypt, he went again to Bugie. From August to June he labored secretly among the few, presumably either adoptive Arabs and descendants of ancient Christians or Muslim converts, whom he had influenced in 1307. He confirmed their faith. He advanced their knowledge. He might have worked indefinitely, but could not resist the longing for martyrdom. On June 30, 1315, he presented himself to the people as the man whom they had banished. He threatened them with divine judgments if they refused to forswear Muhammad. The maddened mob fell upon the mad missioner in a frenzy of fury, and the sultan ordered him to be stoned. But merchants from Majorca conveyed the corpse home, and the sacred dust sleeps its last sleep near the surges of the sounding sea encircling his native land*.

*Lull's *Ars Magna* excited a sensation in its day, and still fascinates the student. Against Averroes and the Averroists he composed works that remain interesting. Salzinger edited and published ten [?] volumes of Lull's Latin writings (Mayence, 1721-42), but this collection was never completed. It is disputed whether volumes seven and eight actually appeared. Most of the great Majorcan's four hundred and thirty writings remain unpublished. The church long hesitated whether to condemn Lull as heretic or recognize him as martyr and saint. Eymeric the Aragonese inquisitor, born toward 1320, formally accused him of heresy in 1371, and Gregory XI (1370-78 forbade some of his works. Eymeric hounded heresy so zealously from 1356 on, especially persecuting Lullists, that he enjoyed several years' suspension. The Franciscans (Antonio, Wadding and others) afterward defended Lull warmly, and the Jesuits manifested hostility. Such enmity commends Lull. Hallam (*Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, part one, chapter four, sections seventy-nine and eighty) errs grievously in his judgment of Lull, actually inflicting injustice on his memory. Several lives of Lull have appeared: Hauteville's in 1666; Calletet's in French in 1646; Helfferich's in German at Berlin in 1858; Loew's in Latin at Halle in 1830; Perroquet's in French at Vendome in 1667; Segui's in French in 1605; Vernon's in French at Paris in 1667; Wadding's (in his Latin history of the Franciscans?) about 1650 at Rome; and Zetzner's in 1598. Giordano Bruno composed two critical tractates in Latin on Lull. The *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Herzog's *Real-Encyklopaedie*, Hoefer's *Nouvelle Biographie Generale* and Johnson's New Cyclopedia contain not untrustworthy articles on Lull; but the *Dictionnaire Universelle* and Lempriere's Universal Biography do not even know that the alchemist and the missionary were different persons! Even *The Century Cyclopedia of Names* repeats the mistake. The *Nouvelle Biographie* contains valuable apparatus for the student in Monnier's article on Lull. Canalejas in 1870 published *Las Doctrinas del Doctor Iluminatus* at Madrid. Groeber's *Grundriss der Romantischen Philologie* (Strasburg, 1893), contains a list, by Morel-Fatio, of Lull's Catalan works (ii, 2, p. 105). Since 1886 Rosselló has been editing and issuing a complete edition of Lull at Palma, Majorca. It would

The inner life of Lull was even more significant and worthy than his outer one. Prayer was the inspiration and stay of his thinking and doing. While composing a poem in which, among flowers of poesy, was the poison-ivy of sin, the vision of Jesus on the cross had caused conversion. The image of the suffering Savior remained for fifty years the mainspring of his being. Love of the personal Christ filled his heart, molded his mind, shaped his soul. He regarded his idea of a work on Christian evidences and of a universal science as a divine call. He prayed with tears that God whose Spirit had inspired this idea would lead to fulfillment. He yielded himself to his Master in unconditional surrender and self-sacrifice. His life during half a century was ceaseless sacrifice. When he traced his *General Method*, he held his eye on the single object of missions. This religious and apologetic interest directed all his thought, with the result of giving a place in theological science to this many-sided, self-taught man. His Latin works composing or expounding the Lullian philosophy alone form a cyclopedia of the knowledge of the age. Had he devoted himself to the statement of dogma, he might have ranked with Aquinas. In fact it was the lowly missioner who induced the king of medieval theology to write *The Catholic Faith: A Summary Against the Gentiles*, defending the agreement of natural theology with revelation. In Lull, however, the practical and the speculative blended; his passion for souls, for bringing men to Christ, arrested apologetics and divine philosophy, and pressed them into the King's service as auxiliaries of missions. His fancy that an absolute method could be universally applied to science and must convince infidels

be pleasant if it hereafter prove practicable to put Lull's life into English. In interest and significance it equals Henry Martyn's. But absolute accuracy as to details appears impossible of attainment.

of the truths of Christianity was baseless. But this childishness was the mistake of scholasticism. Lull's clear, cogent assertion of theism against the pantheism of the Moorish schools in Spain redeemed the error. In his missionary-debates he publicly exposed the fallacies of Averroes, converting African Averroists. His writings abound, even more than *The Method*, in deep apologetic ideas.

At the base of Lull's method lay the assumption of the sweet reasonableness of Christianity. Nothing interfered more with the success of missions than the attempts of their votaries to present Christian doctrines as undemonstrable truths. The difference between Christianity and other religions consists, Lull held, in the ability of faith to prove the truth of its every belief. With John and Paul he thought it the glory of Christianity that it maintains not the undemonstrable but the supersensuous. The weakness of his method, which attempted to transcend logic and metaphysics, was that of every system pretending to equalize intellects or to provide a method that will as inevitably cause discovery as the compasses describe the curve. Francis Bacon also made this mistake. The real value of Lull's method lies in its being an art of investigation, in embodying the ideal of science, in bringing ideas into relation and unity. Humboldt, no prejudiced witness, characterized Lull as "the singularly ingenious man, at once philosophical systematizer and analytic chemist [?], skillful mariner and successful propagator of Christianity, whose doctrines excited the enthusiasm of Giordano Bruno when a boy*". Winsor, most critical of historians,

**Cosmos*, v. 2, p. 254, Harper's ed., 1875. Can it be possible that Humboldt credited the missionary with the alchemist's arts? *Cf.* Delecluze on Lull in *Le Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1840; Erdmann in his *Outline of the History of Philosophy*, vol. 1, section 206; and Prantl in *History of Logic*, vol. 3, pp. 145-177.

states that in 1295 Lull [the missionary?] gave mariners a hand-book, *The Art of Navigation*, which was not superseded by a better even in the time of Columbus. *If* so, Lull had a share in African and American discovery. It is, however, certain that he was one of the first medieval men who tried to find national vernacular expression for philosophy, for he wrote in Catalan as well as Latin. He composed an original apologue on the fox for the instruction of rulers, and a religious allegory or romance. Helfferich links Lull with the beginnings of Catalonian literature. Yet Dante, the first Italian, was then but a child. Villeneuve the alchemist, who declared "medicine and love more pleasing to God than religious services", was his friend. In his conviction that science and its method tend to the glory of God and the good of man; in his departure from scholastic logic; in his wish for real interpretation of nature and in his vision of a universal principle Lull heralded Bacon. Dr George Smith glowingly characterizes him as the greatest missionary to Muhammadans and the greatest of missionary orators*. In no saints' calendar appears his name, in no historic roll; but no church has produced a missionary more original in plan, more persevering of execution. In his assertion of the function of reason in religion and his demand that a rational Christianity be placed before Islam, this Don Quixote of his times belongs to our day.

The spirituality of the man, with its resultant wisdom, is still more remarkable than his intellectual genius. With Tennyson he could have said: "Let knowledge grow from more to more, but more of reverence in us dwell." With Tennyson he would not let divine philoso-

*He even credits him with the independent invention of the mariner's compass. What is his authority for honoring Lull with this? Not improbably Smith, as well as Humboldt and Winsor, has confounded two men as one: Lull the alchemist with Lull the missionary.

phy shoot beyond the mark, and be procuress to the lords of hell. It was in an hour of prayer that light first dawned upon his search for a method. The visions and spiritual experiences at Roda gained Lull the merited title of *doctor illuminatus*, the scholar enlightened from heaven*. During four months of prayer he wrote and wrought for the glory of God, the advancement of His kingdom and the expansion of Christianity and the church. When (1287) imagination pictured the fate of a missionary among the Muslims, Lull's remorse over his recreancy to God and the scandal to Christianity brought him to death's door. In 1296 he concluded a work on the logic of Christianity with this seraph song of spiritual ecstasy: "Let Christians consumed with burning love for the cause of faith only consider that since nothing has power to withstand truth, which through strength of argument is mighty over all, they can by God's help and His might bring infidels back to the Faith; so that the precious name of Jesus which in most regions is still unknown to most men may be proclaimed and adored. This way of converting infidels is easier than others. To infidels it seems difficult and dangerous to abandon their belief for another; but it will be impossible not to abandon the faith proved false and self-contradictory, for that which is true and necessary . . . With bowed knee and in all humility I pray that all be induced to adopt this method. . . . This is the most accordant with Christian love. The weapons of the Spirit are far mightier than carnal ones; this method of conversion is far mightier than all others. As my book is finished on the vigils of John the Baptist, who was the herald of light and pointed to Him who is the true light, may it please our Lord to kindle a new light of the world which

*Consult *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 24.

may guide unbelievers to conversion, that with us they may meet Christ, to whom be honor and praise, world without end".

These utterances are no phrases of religious rhetoric or sentimentality, but the truthful expression of a noble life and sincere soul. Lull undertook all single-handed, with only one companion, though not till after his sagacious effort to enlist the forces of Christendom for spiritual achievements had failed. Like L'Ouverture he had great allies; his friends were exultations, agonies and love, — and man's unconquerable mind*. When Hamar asked Lull (1307) whether he was unaware that by Muslim law he deserved death, the hero replied: "A true servant of Christ, who has experienced the truth of the Faith, ought not to be appalled by the fear of death when he may lead souls to salvation". At seventy-two the unconquerable, undespairing Majorcan, "obeyed at eve the voice obeyed at prime", and toiled with the enthusiasm of youth toward the goal which had been the central, single aim of his mature manhood. He wrote: "All I cheerfully resigned to promote the common good and diffuse our holy Faith. I have for its sake been cast into prison and scourged. I have labored forty-five years to gain the shepherds of the church and the princes of Europe to the common good of Christendom. Now I am old and poor, but I will persevere till death if the Lord permit".

He aimed now to ally arms with missions. In his *Debate between Ramon the Christian and Hamar the Saracen* (1308) he recommended that four or five monasteries be founded, in which learned, pious monks and secular clergy should study foreign languages and prepare themselves to preach the gospel to infidels throughout the

*_L'Ouverture_: Sonnet by Wordsworth.

world. But he also proposed about 1300 that his spiritual knights should first expel the Moors from Granada and North Africa and then conquer Palestine. In this proposition for military missions the glaring variance from his previous principles and procedure is so self-contradictory, that it seems best explained by mental disease in him, though he endeavored to reconcile Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII by recommending a union of all the military religious orders and a joint crusade on their part. In a commentary on a psalm he had introduced two ecclesiastics as arguing: Was it better that a powerful prince be commissioned to convert the heathen by force; or that men should, like Christ and the martyrs, spread the Faith through persuasion and through sacrificing their lives? Lull even then favored the latter method, and to the end grew more and more convinced that this is the sole Christian procedure, the only one that can be crowned with blessing. In his *Contemplation of God*, where he reviewed the callings and ranks of Christendom and pointed out defect in each, he said that the spiritual knights, instead of conquering Palestine, were themselves destroyed.

"It is my belief", he wrote, "that the conquest of the holy land should be attempted in none other way than Thou [Jesus] and Thy apostles undertook it, — by love, prayer, tears and the sacrifice of our lives. As the holy sepulcher and holy land can be better secured by preaching than by arms, let monks march forth as holy knights, glittering with the sign of the cross, replenished with the grace of the Spirit; and to infidels proclaim the truth of Thy passion. Let them from love of Thee exhaust the fountain of their eyes and pour out all their blood, as Thou from love to them. If this mode [conquest] had pleased Thee, they [the crusaders] would

have wrested the promised land from the Saracens. Thus is it manifested to pious monks that Thou waitest for them daily, expecting them to do what Thou hast done. If they expose themselves to martyrdom, Thou wilt hear their prayers as to all that they desire accomplished for the promotion of Thy glory. . . Lord of heaven, Father of all times, when Thou didst send Thy Son to assume human nature, He and His apostles lived in outward peace with men. Never did they capture or slay any unbeliever or persecutor. They availed themselves of peace to bring the erring to truth and to communion of spirit with themselves. So should Christians conduct themselves toward Saracens. But since the ardor of devotion that glowed in apostles and holy men of old no longer inspires us, love and devotion have grown cold. Christians therefore expend far more effort in outward than in spiritual conflict. . . Thy servant would choose, if it please Thee, not to die a natural death. He would prefer that his life end in the glow of love as Thou didst offer Thine. Thy servant is ready to offer himself and to pour out his blood for Thee. May it please Thee so to unite him to Thyself ere he die, that through love and meditation he may never be separated from Thee". To finish *The Contemplation of God* that he might meet martyrdom was in 1314 his most ardent desire. He cried: "As the hungry hasteth on account of his great hunger, Thy servant greatly desires to die that he may glorify Thee. He hurries day and night to complete this work that he may give his blood and tears for Thee where Thou didst pour Thy precious blood and compassionate tears. O Lord my help, till this book be done Thy servant can not go to glorify Thy glorious name. So busied am I with this work, which I undertake for Thine honor, that I can think of nothing

else. For *this* grace I beseech Thee: Stand Thou by me, that I may finish soon, and speedily depart to die the martyr-death from love to Thee, if it please Thee to count me worthy".

Such was the swan-song of the greatest of medieval missionaries, perhaps the grandest among all missionaries from Paul to Carey and Livingstone. His career suggests those of Jonah the prophet, Paul the missionary and Stephen the martyr. Though his death was virtually self-murder, its heinousness is lessened by his home-sickness for heaven, his longing to be with the Christ and the sublimity of his character and career. We may point to one missionary here, name another there, who excelled him in one particular or another. Origen surpassed him in ripeness and wealth of scholarship. Augustine of Kent, Boniface, Cyril and Ansgar won far greater numbers of converts. Xavier equaled him in spiritual passion, and excelled in nominal, numerical success. But taking Ramon Lull all-in-all, his myriad gifts and graces make him the evening and morning star of missions. He presaged the setting of medieval missions, for the church at large suspended its missionary activity before 1400. In the darkness of the long night he heralded the dawn of Jesuit and Protestant missions. He wonderfully forecast some great missionary means and methods, especially linguistic culture and philological scholarship. He anticipated Loyola and Zinzendorf in their thought of missionary-schools. He leaped before his time in linking literature and science to the cause of missions. He perceived the possibilities, though not the limitations, of comparative theology and the religious sciences as weapons for the missionary. He would have pressed printing into service, with all after discoveries of science and inventions of art, had the

press then existed. His works ought to be rescued from their undeserved obscurity. He is to-day a factor in philological scholarship, a formative force in the origination of African philology. He always mentioned the Muslim scholars with respect. He seized the strategic center of the theological controversy between Christianity and Islam, though Martyn and Keith-Falconer surpass him in their statement of the cardinal truths and in the temper of their personal relations with Muhammadans. He was a real because a radical reformer. His view of the infallibility of reason cuts a nerve of authority. He preached and practiced the principle that in Christian missions the only true method is the method of Christ.

III

The Merchant, The Seaman and The Statesman as Missionaries

The crusades pushed Henry of Portugal along Africa, Columbus across the Atlantic and Gama to India. Islam had from 1100 to 1300 been the occasion for African missions; and from 1415 to 1520 Islam again afforded a missionary opportunity in Africa for the Christian church. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the holy war of Christendom with Islamry had through its reflex influence inspired peaceable and religious missions to Africa; in the fifteenth century Islam's mastery of the old trade-routes to Cathay became the instrumentality that caused Christianity and commerce to seek a new way round the world. In the former period arms and fanaticism, in the latter, bigotry and greed ruined the return of Christianity to Africa. The earlier missions had the martial, the later ones the mercantile, taint. Yet enough of wan-

ing force survived in the crusading idea to spur glorious Prince Henry the Navigator and Columbus the world-finder with missionary as well as mercenary motives. Henry pushed his African work as an oceanic or western crusade complementing those of by-gone days in the orient; Columbus despite his worldliness professed a wish to lead a Syrian crusade as one motive for exploration; and thus Islam became instrumental, though indirectly and remotely, in introducing its rival into America and into western, southern and eastern Africa. Nevertheless, though the crusades constitute the thread of historical and religious continuity between the older and younger medieval missions, the actors, the motives, the stage and the results of this last scene differ so from those of the tragedy before as to require separate setting.

About 1350 a Franciscan, setting out from Marocco, coasted Guinea, plunged into the interior, traversed Nigritia or Sudan along its Saharan border and, passing Dongola, arrived at Cairo. Such is the statement of Marcellino da Tivezza, author of a universal history of Franciscan missions*. If the assertion represent a reality, the achievement of Livingstone was anticipated by a fellow-missionary five centuries earlier. An apocryphal account of African travel also exists, narrating how eight priests of Montpellier, France, ascended the Nile from Abyssinia in 1317, traversed Ugumba (Uganda?) and reached Zanzibar in 1357! Though the explorations and discoveries of that era sprang from commerce rather than religion, the impulse toward the oceanic ventures of the merchant originated in the crusades. The missionary traveler of medieval Europe preceded the mercantile voyager. In 1450 the Portuguese had long been the most expert seamen in Europe. Their daring

**Storia generale di missioni Francescani*, p. 437, Rome 1860.

and discoveries contributed direct, immeasurable forces to the missionary-occupation of Africa, and opened the way for Christianity among new if not unknown races. In the inauguration of Christian missions to the Negro, the distinctive feature of the modern mission-enterprise in Africa, Henry the Navigator (1394-1460) was an originating force.

As early as 1393 a company had been formed in Andalusia and Biscay to explore the west coast of Africa. Three years before, Tunis had beaten back another crusade. In 1394 was born the man-child who realized the ideals of the merchant and the spiritual warrior. Almost simultaneously the worker was born to the work. Henry, half-English in blood, was wholly English in pluck and stalwart manliness. He wished and was able to do well. He made mariners. He made men. He inspired them with courage to sail into the boiling seas and fiery zone imagined to exist beyond Cape Bojador. He, only less than Columbus, rendered possible the American achievement of Italy's great son. Through life Henry was urged on by a sincere desire to spread Christianity. As Grand Master of the Order of Christ it was his duty to use every effort "to conquer and convert all who denied the truth of their holy religion"*. According to the type of the time he was a true Christian, and possessed a spirit of devotion. No head of this Portuguese order ever possessed more of the spirit of Christ. Religion elevated his designs, purified his motives and made the propagation of the gospel the supreme object of his enterprise. Though mercantile motives may have mingled with other forces in his first impulse toward maritime discovery, such a mainspring of action lacks the permanence and strength to impel such a character over

*Compare page 106, top.

such a course for nearly fifty years. Though Henry was too sagacious to despise power and prosperity for Portugal, too statesmanlike to reject the opportunity of acquiring them for his country, his pure and strong desire to diffuse Christianity was the motive for his crusades of discovery. This fact also finds confirmation in the circumstance that from the first the Portuguese clergy were the support of the prince. Zealous for the diffusion of the gospel in new countries, they rose in a body, overbore opposition and to the utmost of their power promoted the princely projects of discovery and evangelization.

A crusade against Ceuta, in 1415 the strongest Moorish holding in Africa, introduced Henry into the lost and seemingly hopeless continent, though in 1412 he had sent an exploring expedition down Marocco to Cape Non. Off this southern boundary of the Moorish realm, where the lively imagination of superstitious seamen had represented the Atlas mountains and the Atlantic ocean as forever saying no, Henry uttered his everlasting yea and said: *I will.* While commander at Ceuta, he acquired information from the Muslims about West Africa, Sahara and its nomads and the Jolofs. Arab and Hindi navigators, the former from the Red Sea or Sofala, the latter from the Arabian Sea if not from the Gulf of Bengal, had already reached the southernmost point of Africa, and a vague rumor of this exploit had filtered throughout Islamry. Henry could not but hear a surmise that Africa bore eastward. If so, he conjectured, there must be a southeast passage to India and Cathay. When this conjecture crystallized into conviction, it carried a corollary. He could open new spheres of influence for Christianity and commerce. He settled, accordingly, near Cape St Vincent, the watch-tower of the Atlantic world of waters,

and pushed his projects with augmented energy. About 1420 he colonized the Madeiras, and began their conversion. In 1430, when his determination to double Bojador provoked strenuous opposition, his personal piety formed his ever-present and strongest support. He also sent a representative to Martin V (1417-31) to enforce the claims of explorations and missions*. The ambassador dwelt on the benefits the church had already received through Henry, reminded the cardinals that this Grand-Master had taken Christianity into countries where it had been unknown; insisted that "this was the sole means of resisting the desolating progress of the false prophet" and bringing the scattered sheep to the true shepherd; and besought his holiness to bless the explorations and consecrate the memory of the maritime missioners. The pope bestowed a territorial monopoly in their discoveries upon the Portuguese, and granted plenary indulgence to all who perished in explorations and missions. This religious sanction cast a quasi-spiritual character over discovery, and made the expedition of the merchant and the mariner a continuation of the Christian crusade.

In 1441 Gonzalez declared for Henry that "the intention of the prince was not so much to open trade as to convert the natives to Christianity". Next year his captains brought home Negroes for slaves, whom Helps believed to be the first in medieval Europe, though Navarrete claims that Spain preceded Portugal in introducing them. Here again we find the dire influence of Islam, the Duessa of Christianity. The Christ had said: "Make not my Father's house a house of merchandise". Almost the first thing that Paul had to do during his earliest missionary-visit to Europe consisted in the res-

*Authorities differ about the date. The year 1441 is mentioned.

cue of a slave-girl. Christianity, the clergy and the missionaries had abolished one branch of the slave-trade, and were fast demanding emancipation for the serf. But the enmity of Islamry against Christendom, resulting (1493) in eight centuries of war and three thousand seven hundred battles, had made bondage the righteous retribution for the infidelity of the captive, whether Christian or Musulman. Jesus, in saying *Our Father*, had published the Great Charter of universal freedom; Muhammad, in styling Allah the giant or the proud one, had made God a despot and man a slave. Paul had declared that Christians are neither bond nor free; the Christian slave being the Lord's freeman, the converted serf the beloved brother of all servants of Christ. While the Gospel merely bore with slavery, the Quran impressed a divine sanction upon the institution. The long contact of Christianity with Islam caused even the church as a whole to maintain that man was man, not because of his nature but in virtue of his relation to God. If his religious relations were right, *i. e.*, if he were a Christian and especially if he were a member of the western church, he was a man and possessed all the rights of humanity. But if he were out of fellowship with any church, especially with the Roman church, his infidelity placed him beyond the pale of human and spiritual commonwealths. To church and state alike he was an outlaw, a wild beast. Pagan or Muhammadan, he was doomed to eternal death. His body was the property of whatever Christian nation occupied the soil. His country lay under the supremacy of the pope, because the vicar of Christ possessed plenary authority over the race for the salvation of human souls. In furtherance of their spiritual and eternal well-being the pope might confer on Christians imperial authority over lands dis-

covered by them. When Eannes kidnaped some Canarians (1433), Henry was displeased*. When Gonzalez brought Moors from Cape Blanco to Portugal, Henry restored them to their homes (1443), but these Arabs (or Berbers?) gave Gonzalez not gold only but "black Moors" (blackamoors) with curling hair. When Eannes passed Bojador, Henry gave thanks to God, and besought the virgin that "she would guide this discovery to His glory and the increase of His holy faith". In 1446 he commanded his expedition to Oro River "to cultivate the friendship of the Negroes, establish peace and use their utmost diligence in making converts". At Arguin, a Portuguese post just below Cape Blanco, Henry would not let the Saharan coast-peoples be enslaved. Mosto (1432-80) wrote of them only five years before Henry's death: "He is in hopes that by conversing with Christians they may easily be brought to the Faith, as they are not well-established in that of Muhammad, of which they know nothing but hearsay". Such facts prove that if Henry enslaved Negroes or gave occasion for the slave-trade, he used slavery as an education, made captives of heathen savages for the highest ends, and attempted to use them for the betterment of Christendom. The Muhammadan slave-trade originated in lust and covetousness; the Portuguese traffic in Negro slaves sprang from some desire to save the souls of the black men from "foul Muhammad the false prophet". The sin of Islam was altogether earthly and vile; that of Portuguese Christianity arose from religion without tolerance or wisdom, and was at first not without nobility of motive. Islam as a system is to-day as firmly wedded to slavery as twelve centuries, six centuries ago; Christianity, though receiving Negro slavery and

*Portuguese Gil Eannes is English Giles Jones.

the slave-trade from Islam, cut the cancer from civilization within less than five centuries, and is the first cause of its removal from Islamry.

Year after year the mariner, the merchant and the missioner sailed south, sailed east, sailed south again. In 1445 European followers of the cross saw the Southern Cross, unseen from Europe for fifteen hundred years*. Almost every ship carried its quota of Dominicans or Franciscans. The church went hand in hand with the state. Pennant and sword, roar of cannon and swell of music proclaimed her coming. She followed their path of invasion and victory. While the merchant, sailor and soldier were building their strongholds, the missioner and priest were raising the house of prayer. Christianity and civilization entered West Africa together. But this saving salt in civilization was itself corrupt. Moreover, civilization with its slave-trade and its rum-trade debauched the Negro before the clergy, even when devoted and pious, could benefit him. It is doubtful whether any other chapter in the annals of African missions be so horrible in its relations and results as this expiring effort of medieval Christianity. The old fire flamed for an instant of splendor in Barbary, but in the fens of Guinea, the forests of Kongo and the marshes of Mozambique it died down in darkness, squalor and shame.

Alfonso the African, John the Perfect, and Manoel the Great proved themselves worthy successors of Henry the Navigator as evangelists and explorers. Alfonso (1438-81) crusaded not unsuccessfully against Marocco. John (1481-95) declared that if one Negro were converted to Christianity, obstacles would easily be sur-

*It had passed out of sight at Alexandria only as recently as about 1340. Was it invisible from *Europe* in *classic* times, which include the first Christian century?

mounted; and in a single year (1482) caused the celebration of the first mass in Guinea and the discovery of the Kongo*. His first act as king was to build a fortress and a church at Mina, on the Gold Coast, when prayer was offered for the Christianization of the natives and the eternal continuance of this church. In 1485 he earnestly requested the chief of Kongo, which then comprised parts of Angola and Loango and possibly extended two hundred and fifty miles inland, to accept Christianity. The sable sovereign sent an ambassador to his Christian brother, asking the Portuguese king to instruct him and send missionaries. After teaching the neophyte two years, John and his queen stood sponsors for the Kongoan at his baptism. The Kongo ruler himself professed Christianity in 1490, when his ambassador and many missionaries arrived, and gave it full scope. Vast numbers received baptism. But Christianity had long ceased in the conversion of heathens to aim at change of character. When the missionaries attempted to substitute Christian marriage for polygamy, their royal convert returned to his fetiches and clave to his many wives. A civil war over the succession was rendered a religious war through the usurping claimant supporting paganism and polygamy. When the Portuguese had succeeded in seating the Christian and lawful heir, and had established Christianity as a state-religion, missionaries inflicted personal violence on men and women unwilling to accept the new faith. Within a generation they wrecked the mission. They not only held slaves, which might have been at the request of the slave himself as the best arrangement then feasible, but participated in the slave-trade. They sold the performers of heathen rites and gave the proceeds to the poor. The numbers were so

*It was ascertained several years ago that not 1484 but 1482 is the true date.

great that the slaver depended on the missionary to complete his cargo. Merolla sold a slave for a flask of wine for the sacraments. Even if Negroes had been baptized, the missionary saw no sin in enslaving them. In reality, however, baptism encouraged and sanctioned slavery, for it made the Negro a Christian and a man, *nolens volens*, while the Christian slave-trade was a beneficent agency to bring black barbarians into Christian civilization. Only, let not the slave be sold to heretics, for then he would be doubly damned. The Negro intellect failed to comprehend such reasoning. The Negro eye was unable to appreciate the beauty of holiness when a bishop sat in his marble chair on the pier at Sao Paolo and blessed the slave-ships in the offing. The missionaries knew the horrors of the traffic. They ought to have been the first to oppose it. Yet when Cibo (about 1690) complained that "the abominable and pernicious abuse continued", the missionaries claimed that the natives' lack of other barter-goods than ivory and slaves rendered the suppression of the trade impracticable. Why did they not develop the natural resources?

Meanwhile the romance and reality of missions were advancing apace in Ethiopia. Benin had at its own request received missionaries even earlier than Kongo, and enjoyed substantially the same experience. But its ambassador had happened to speak about a greater African power than Benin, of which Benin was merely the vassal. This set John of Portugal thinking of Prester John, the Christian king whom legend had fabled as ruling a Christian people in Cathay, India or Ethiopia. Must not this greater power be Prester John? Accordingly the Portuguese king (1486) dispatched Bartholomeu Diaz straight south for the end of Africa, and around

the continent for the realm of his Christian brother in the orient. Diaz on discovering that he had doubled the cape dedicated a cross and pillar to Philip the Evangelist as tutelar saint of Africa (1487). Before Diaz sailed John had sent two men overland to discover the evanescent potentate. After their return he instructed Covilham and Paiva (1487), Arabic scholars, to discover the country of Prester John and ascertain the possibility of sailing around Africa to India. Covilham reached Cairo, Calcutta and, eventually, Shoa. Thinking the Abyssinian king=of=kings to be Prester John, he delivered the letter of the Portuguese king (1490). The missionary sent positive information that India would be reached by doubling Africa, but the Abyssinian ruler never allowed him to return home. It is, however, a curious coincidence that Lucas Marcos, an Abyssinian priest, came as an ambassador from Abyssinia to Rome and Lisbon about this time. The circumstance gave fresh impulse to hope and endeavor by the Portuguese king, and in 1520 a priest entered Abyssinia. After a thousand years of severance eastern and western Christianity came into touch. A rumor had prevailed during a crusade that Prester John was coming with a mighty army from Ethiopia to the help of his fellow=Christians. Pious, powerful and wealthy, he bestowed a second golden age upon his happy people. Brancaleone of Venice had about 1450 held theological discussions with Ethiopian priests. It remained, however, for Portugal and the Society of Jesus (1553) to bring Abyssinia into contact with modern life.

The discovery of America (1492) by an Italian who spent years in Madeira and voyaged up and down Portuguese West Africa checked the development of the continent for all but four centuries. The winning of the

east by Gama (1498) caused commerce to outweigh missions, ended the evangelistic activity of the Portuguese government about 1520, and aided in consummating the ruin of Portugal. Nevertheless, Alfonso, John and Manoel were prototypes of Leopold of Belgium. In them the fifteenth century anticipated the amelioration which the nineteenth century has attempted. The distinctive feature of John's character was the uniform zeal with which he kept the diffusion of Christianity in view. This was his end. To this, discovery was but a means. Castañeda assures us that the prince was "greatly desirous to propagate the Faith to distant regions". Emmanuel the Fortunate, his successor, hastened Gama toward India, because, among worldly motives, existed a deep and sincere desire for the extension of the kingdom of Christ. Castañeda states that "the king resolved to prosecute the discovery on purpose to spread the gospel". His sending the Dominicans and Franciscans into Mozambique in 1500 appears to confirm Castañeda. The spirit of missions formed the mainspring of discovery during the greater part of the fifteenth century. The church was not diverted from her high calling by expectations of gain. The Portuguese government did not lose sight of missions and give itself wholly to commerce until India had opened unhoped-for sources of gain. Yet the aim of the subject differed utterly from that of his sovereign. *Ichabod* he wrote large over Portuguese missions. Marshall, a proselyte from the Anglican to the Roman communion and a special pleader for papal missions, acknowledges that the Portuguese propaganda from 1415 to 1520 accomplished little and that even this did not last. The criticism applies to the continent, but it also holds true of its western islands. The Christianization of the Azores, the Canaries, the

Cape Verd Islands and Madeira, though permanent, was the result of colonization from Europe rather than of the conversion of natives*.

The conquest of Granada (1492) enabled Spain to war in Africa. In 1509 Ximenes (1436-1517), the greater and nobler predecessor of Richelieu, consummated his previous capture of Mazarquivir (1505), a pirate port of Algeria, by a crusade against Oran. His zeal for the spread of Christianity was a consuming flame, and caused the conquest of Algiers and Tripoli. Though these cities, with Tenez and Tlemcen, afterward slipped from the Spanish crown, the results of the enterprise were of great importance, and the acquisitions of Ximenes himself remained incorporate with the empire. The Negro has reason to regard the memory of this grand Franciscan with reverence, for he, though unsuccessfully, opposed the introduction of Africans into America as slaves. Their presence, he predicted, must result in servile war. Haiti justified the prescience of the cardinal-statesman.

Through the influence of Islam and the crusades Christianity was led to the enslavement of the Negro. Arabia had long overshadowed Africa, north and east; now through West Africa its shadow fell full and foul on America. The millennium that began for Ethiopia with the Muslim movement closed with a commerce in African slaves, Muhammadans among them†, to worlds beyond the westernmost ken of that Akbah who spurred his charger into Atlantic waves on the Saharan shore, and exclaimed: "Great God, were my course not checked by this sea, I would on to unknown kingdoms in the west, preaching the unity of Thy holy name and putting

*See Dimmitt, *The Story of Madeira* (New York City, U. S. A.; Eaton and Mains)

†Compare chapter fourteen, page 502.

to the sword the rebellious nations that worship any other gods than Thee!" Spanish rather than Portuguese Christianity inaugurated the slave-trade. Under Enrique III of Castile (1390-1406) Seville imported gold-dust and Negro slaves from the western coast of Africa. Isabella (1451-1504) interfered repeatedly in their behalf, but her benevolence merely mitigated the condition of domestic serfs born into bondage; it did not act against the importation of Africans, for Christians regarded it as a blessing for all non-Christians to be brought within the pale of the church. When slave-holders emigrated to America, they took their Negroes; and in 1501 an edict permitted the transportation of Negroes born in slavery among Christians. Thus Ferdinand and Isabella founded American slavery, and the slave-trade alone gave the Negro his inheritance in America. At first the king and queen, in order that the Negro might convert the Indian, allowed only those to be imported who had been instructed in Christianity. But in 1511-13 the royal Christians established and sanctioned the Guinea slave-trade to America, for the material reason that the African was four times as valuable a workman as the American. Covetousness, not compassion, inaugurated the Afric-American traffic in Negroes, and the church never sanctioned it. In 1511 Montesino refused confession to men engaged in the slave-trade; and thus Christianity, the medieval, protesting Christianity of Wiclif and Savonarola, opened in the new world itself the anti-slavery war that was won by Wilberforce and Lincoln. When Casas, to save the Indian, suggested (1517) that the Negro be employed still more, the trade was already years old. The noble missionary can not be held blameworthy. He was not accountable. He was actuated by benevolence. He repented his mistake. "The slavery

of black men", Casas declared, "is as iniquitous as that of red men, and I fear the wrath of divine justice".

IV

The Meaning of Medieval Missions

Medieval African missions, speaking bye-and-large, were crusades. In this lay their worth and worthlessness. Upon Christianity and Islam, upon Egypt, Europe and North Africa the immediate effect was hurtful. But the ultimate result made for the advancement of Africa and advantage of Christendom. The crusades reversed the adage:

> The evil that men do lives after them,
> The good is oft interred with their bones.

The evil of the crusades has been long interred. The good lives on.

(1) The first benefit consisted in the reflex and ultimate influence upon Europe and efforts for the evangelization of Africa. Their influence affected civilization in body, mind and spirit.

(*a*) These struggles of brute force between Christianity and Islam were really the endeavors of a fruitful and progressive culture against a barren and stagnant one. It is, indeed, true that the Musulmans rightly regarded the mass of the crusaders as the most brutal, ferocious and stupid of barbarians. It is true that in Egypt Muslim civilization as a whole was more advanced, enlightened and polished than that of England in the twelfth and even France in the thirteenth century. But Christian America and Muhammadan Marocco in the nineteenth century show which civilization and religion contain life and its potencies of progress. It was, therefore, supreme wisdom, more divine than human, to assume the offen-

sive, and to check in the east the invasion with which Islam threatened Europe. Without the union of western Christendom in religious war, eastern Europe would have been occupied by Islam four centuries before it camped in Constantinople. This offset alone, to say nothing of the Portuguese and Spanish triumphs over the Moors, outweighs the melancholy fact that the Muhammadans remained masters of Mediterranean Africa. The crusades were the first European event; the first national event for each nation participating. Distinctions of custom and language were effaced, local animosities overridden, scattered peoples made conscious of kinship. The impulse was passionate and half-savage, but no other means could then have realized the beneficent effects.

(*b*) The crusades effected a revolution in the European mind. To Aix, Argile and Robert the Monk, bigoted and ignorant chroniclers of the first crusade, the Muhammadans were hateful, miscreant monsters; but Vitry and William of Tyre, the cultured and liberal historians of the later crusades, entered into their ideas, exercised impartiality of judgment and sympathized somewhat with them. The Muslims, too, had begun to gain glimpses of toleration, even for missionaries. Had wisdom ruled the church, her representatives might have exerted a religious influence on Islam. The crusades, though begun in the name of religious belief and under its influence, deprived theological thought of its despotic and exclusive sway over the intellect. Though religious ideas themselves underwent no vital change and ecclesiastical opinions experienced no displacement*, thought

*Eymeric presented Gregory XI in 1371 with 500 errors of Lull's. Gregory, on the report of twenty or more theologians, condemned them as heretical. Their character may be inferred from this: Without love we can have no virtue. Lull taught that the creed, the power of the pope and the sacraments are matters of proof through demonstrative reasoning; that, though the ignorant and uncultivated must accept religious doctrines through faith, the thinker is rather to be convinced by reason; and that faith, by which Lull often means submission to

became freer and the center of gravity began to shift from other-worldliness to secular interests. Earth and its fulness bulked larger in life and thought. The religious soldiers were travelers perforce as well as warriors. With the eastward wanderings of Christian peoples *en masse*, — for it semed to Anna Comnena as if all Europe hurled itself bodily upon Asia, — the ends of the world were brought together, intellect awoke, knowledge enlarged and thought was invigorated.

(*c*) The cataclysm has its place. The wrath of man and the schemes of Satan work God's will in the moral order. The crusades, though the elemental forces had required five centuries to gather and explode, broke the spiritual torpor like an earthquake at midnight. Not worldliness but religion furnished the impelling force of the first and the last crusades. It was the profanation of Christ's land, the sufferings of Christian pilgrims and the summons to duty — not a desire for fame and wealth — that nerved Godfrey and Louis. The glory of Jesus and the honor of His church inspired Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153), who in turn enkindled the masses with spiritual fire. Men deemed that they heard the voice of God calling people, prelate and prince to distant endeavors for Christ. This was much. The enthusiasm, though mistaken, was as ideal as that of Paul, Loyola and Carey. Not a few, obeying its behests, awoke to divine life. The gospel was preached to the ignorant and poor in their own tongues. The moral unity in the Christian commonwealth of nations, a prophecy and type of the City of God, became a reality in human history. The kingdoms of this world allied themselves in service to the King of heaven. This meant more than

human or ecclesiastical authority, may err. The second and third positions are those of rationalism, the first that of Protestantism. If dogmas depend on logical proof, they may suffer logical disproof. If reason be infallible, could authority stand?

the fancy that God called men to slay their fellow-men for His sake; as much more as action outweighs belief. It raised a new standard for character. This, though imperfect and often dim and shapeless, helped to substitute action for meditation and to replace formal prayers by the fulfillment of duty. Such an ethical gain for character and conduct weighed heaviest among all. High qualities of moral life came to the front. Pious pastors ardently desired to rescue the faithful from Muhammadan thraldom. Incredible pecuniary sacrifices were made. Europe poured forth men and money like water, till six million souls had sacrificed themselves and the financial cost had passed reckoning. Even then the toil did not cease, for the redemptive orders continued to rescue Christian captives until the Barbary corsairs were themselves put down. The knightly champion rose higher in public esteem than the bishop. When Bernard engrossed a code for the Knights Templar, a purely military order, he made them ascetics, external exiles for Christ and merciless to infidels. The Portuguese Order of Christ continued their work from 1318*. Though the military and the spiritual orders formed a police for the papacy, the multitudes of crusaders who visited Rome saw the worldliness of the popes. The laity learned the weakness of the church. The Albigensians, the Bohemian Brethren, the Waldenses and the Wiclifites inaugurated the attempts at reform within the church which, with the renascence, resulted in the reformation. Hence an immense reinforcement for missions. From the crusades, therefore, healthy sentiment began to appear and a new consciousness of strength. What Europe wills, Europe can. What Christendom may achieve when united in a purpose ceased to be an iridescent

*Cf. p. 128.

dream. The crusades failed in their immediate, lower, obvious object. They succeeded, with a success transcending the thoughts of men, in their far-reaching and final results. They won a holier than the Holy Land. If the disorganized and disunited barbarians of medieval Europe could strive in behalf of an ideal, what might not modern Christianity achieve? When the concert of the Powers becomes a Christian power, Muslim and pagan potentates will rage in vain. The crusades remain an exemplar, as luminous as the sun and more eternal than the firmament, of the triumphs possible to enthusiasm for missions, when careless of obstacle and fearless of danger. They foretell that Christian churches, if united, may march to the spiritual conquest of heathenism, Islam and unbelief, in full assurance of ultimate victory for Christ and the Faith.

(2) The second resultant advantage of the crusades, though negative rather than positive, relates to missions proper. The failures and shortcomings of medieval missions are beacon lights flaming encouragement and warning as to the future of African missions. The crusades themselves stood god-father for the new departure of the Christian church in the thirteenth century. This consisted of peaceful missions; and God was in their still, small voice rather than in the whirlwind, earthquake and fire of the crusades. These missions were carried on by laymen, the begging, self-supporting, untrained missioners of Dominic and Francis. The harvest was not abundant enough to encourage Christians to regard ignorance and mendicancy as compensated by zeal. The failure of their work to endure gives color to the inference that the absence of the Bible in the vernacular, the neglect of education, the non-provision of industrial training or the purchase of pagans, even for

the high and holy purpose of Christianizing them, doom missions to decay and eventual extinction. The circumstances in Barbary, Egypt and Portuguese Africa were sufficiently favorable to the Dominicans and Franciscans not to invalidate this conclusion. Nevertheless, the blind instinct of these fanatics did not wholly err in striking for the truths of the trinity, incarnation and atonement as the jugular vein in the argument between Christianity and Islam. It erred in its method, but it judged rightly in regarding these ideas as first and fundamental in apologetics. Had medieval Christianity as a whole also possessed and practiced the following ideas: the sinfulness of man and the love of God for man together with that of personal love for God in Christ, its African missions would have accomplished more. But the best work of Christian evidences consists of a Christly life. The experience of Francis and Louis in Egypt shows that much could have been effected if Christianity had been preached by holy lives. The community of truth between Christianity and Islam, the Christian and Judaic elements in the latter and its self-contradictions offered openings for the exertion of religious influence. So long as missioners, even among the Moors, refrained from reviling Muhammad, the Muslims as a rule listened to theological reasoning. The sins of the crusaders scandalized the Musulmans, and made it impossible to believe that any virtue could reside in Christianity. Pious Muhammadans could not tolerate the active attempts of the Christian propaganda to win proselytes from the "true" to the "false" Faith. The inherent evil of the crusades (excluding the defects of medieval Christianity from consideration) nullified the good of the missions. Portuguese zeal in its turn two centuries later, even when not choked by a growing lust

for land and power and wealth, too often took a one-sided direction, as when it interfered with the Abyssinian church.

(3) The attitude of institutional Christianity toward missions furnishes an instance of interaction between intellectual and spiritual influences. The reaction of missions upon the church, the monastery, the orders, the papacy and the universities affords invaluable illustration of the play of personal and social forces. Monasticism hindered missions. When monks accomplished good as missioners, it was by virtue of their Christian character but athwart their monastic purpose and temper. But a star of truth shone in the darkest hour of monkish degeneration, and the leaven of the genuine spirit of missions never became wholly powerless. Monasticism had been clear in its fount, though miry in the stream. Through Francis and Dominic it burgeoned into missions, and blossomed from selfishness into sacrifice. Though the Dominicans and Franciscans were missionaries, preachers and teachers rather than monks, Livingstone observed that the monasteries had been "mission-stations which resembled ours in being alms-houses for the poor, dispensaries for the sick and nurseries of learning. Can we learn nothing from them as the schools of Europe in their prosperity, and see naught but the laziness and pollution of their decay?"

If armies followed or preceded missions; if proselyting orders of monks and princes took the place of a church filled with the mission-spirit and prosecuting the mission-work, — the fault lay at the door of a false conception of the church and in a lower standard of spirituality. Yet medieval missions, though largely mechanical in method, did not lack men of apostolic fervor or intellectual insight. Churchmen of spiritual wisdom protested

frequently, influentially, in public and with vigor against the crusades as a Christless and hurtful method of promoting Christianity*. Bishops and councils afforded important aid to missions by consolidating and directing the efforts of missionaries. Individual energy exerted immense influence. Personal character wielded subduing power. Lull besought the universities of France and Italy to found a universities' mission to Africa. James I of Aragon (1213–76) endeavored to Christianize the Muslims by the establishment of schools and by translations into Arabic. The Spanish Dominicans applied themselves to oriental languages and rabbinic literature, and were employed as teachers of Saracens. A number of youths were educated as preachers, but the effort proved unavailing. Pope Clement IV (1265–68) advised James to expel Islam by force, though Gregory IX (1227–41) had dispatched Franciscan missionaries to Egypt; and the royal mission ceased. Honorius III (1216–27) had remained cold toward the reform of Francis in missionary methods; and though during the fifteenth century the papacy in several instances took steps for disseminating Christianity, urging the duty with unction when granting territory, and inducing missioners to enter the new fields, yet the popes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries clung to the crusades as the ideal of missions.

(4) Lull was not the only scholar to protest against the propaganda and proselytism of the sword or to reveal a more excellent way. Roger Bacon (1214–94), the countryman of Wiclif (1324–84) and Verulam (1561–1626), was a man of free spirit, full of great ideas of reform and with a richly endowed religious nature. As scientist

*Singularly enough, the cessation of miracles was about 1274 advanced by an upholder of the crusades as compelling the church to have recourse to arms.

and thinker he outranks Francis Bacon. His theological views place him with Wiclif and Hus, among the reformers before the reformation of Erasmus, Luther and Zwingli. He pointed out the necessity of a thorough, scientific education for missionaries, insisted that missions undertaken without correct ideas of ethnography and geography doomed themselves, and explained his view in full. "Knowledge of the regions of the world," he wrote, "is strongly necessary for the republic of believers and the conversion of unbelievers, and for withstanding infidels and Anti-Christ. The man unacquainted with geography is not only ignorant where he walks but whither he heads. Whether he attempt the conversion of infidels or work for other interests of the church, it is indispensable that he know the religions and environments of all nations". Lull also showed what an obstacle to missions and the spread of Christianity sprang from the mistaken idea that faith and knowledge, religion and science stand in opposition. Only his scholarship, the fruit of ten years of exhaustive study, enabled him to cope with Islam. The Miramolin of Tunis, Lull wrote in his tractate, *The Agreement between Faith and Knowledge* (1304), was skilled in logic and natural science. Once he indulged in peaceful polemics with a monk, versed in Arabic, ethics and history but only slightly acquainted with logic and science, who, accompanied by several brethren, visited Tunis to open a mission. The Christian showed conclusively by the moral argument that Islam is false. The Muslim declared himself ready to embrace Christianity, could the missionary prove its doctrine true. Christian doctrine, said the latter, is too exalted to be proved by argument; only believe and thou shalt be saved. The Tunisian replied: That is but a positive thing; I should be unwill-

ing to exchange my faith in that way. He was now neither Christian, Jew nor Muslim; and, as the victim himself told Lull, he expelled the missionaries.

Medieval missions, accordingly, were intermediate, preliminary, preparatory and transitional. The nature of the case made defect inevitable. The medieval church was the Jewish or Petrine period of Christianity. Though destined to pass away, it and its missions were of immeasurable importance and usefulness. On the other side Islam became a means to minister to the ultimate civilization of Europe. Not Christianity but Islam created the asylum for the insane. The Shemitic middleman passed the torch of knowledge through the dark ages between the ancient and the medieval world. Christian monasticism unwittingly worked with the Saracen scholar. For a time the Muslim conquests changed the spirit of Christianity, penetrating church and state with the blood-poison of war and tinging the missionary with fanaticism. Not Lull but Louis is the true representative and type of the medieval missionary. He made the mistake of working from the king down to the masses. Yet Francis and Lull, with their sublime designs for the spiritual conquest of a world, showed that God was in His world, dwelling in the souls of lowly men and through His Spirit breathing life into the church and her missions. With their decay came her decline. Whenever the church effected anything lasting and real, it was when, as through Lull, she was content to sow seed and leave it with the divine Husbandman. When she failed, it was because she resorted, as in the violent and coercive fanaticism of the Portuguese missions, to other means than those sanctioned by her divine Head.

If medieval African missions set in disaster when in 1492 the church fell anew into the error of Charlemagne

and Louis, their eclipse was relieved by the piety, the sagacity, the zeal of Erasmus. This reformer within the church censured her methods of evangelization, and strongly urged the duty of missions. Lull had mourned that pious monks retired into solitudes instead of preaching among infidels. O blessed and glorious day, he exclaimed, when, master of foreign languages, these new apostles among heathens and Muslims shall stand ready to lay down their lives in preaching the Faith! Now hope burned above the unrisen morrow of missions. Hus had lived (1369-1415), and the Unity of Brethren was born. Erasmus wrote: *I wish the gospels and the epistles of Paul were translated into all languages that they might be read and understood by Saracens and Turks. † The most effectual way of conquering the Turks would be if they were to see the spirit and teaching of Christ expressed in our lives. ‡We daily hear men deplore the decay of the Christian religion. Let those to whom this is an unfeigned cause of grief beseech Christ to send sowers to scatter His seed. In Africa what have we? Surely there are barbarous and simple tribes in these vast tracts who could easily be attracted to Christ. The king of Ethiopia lately submitted himself to the Roman see, and held no small controversy with the pope because the Ethiopians, though not alien from faith in Christ, had been so long neglected by the shepherd of the world. Travelers bring gold and gems from distant lands; but it is worthier to carry hence the wisdom of Christ, more precious than gold, and the pearl of the gospel that would shame all earthly riches. From these [Dominicans and Franciscans] let men be chosen to teach the word of God in truth to the

*_Preface_, New Testament, 1516.
†_Enchiridion_ or _Christian Soldier's Manual_.
‡_The Preacher_ or _Evangelical Herald_, abridged and condensed.

heathen. Bestir yourselves, heroic and illustrious leaders of the army of Christ! Be clothed with the mystic armor for preaching the gospel of peace. It is a hard work, but the noblest of all. Would that God had accounted *me* worthy to die in a work so holy!

God fulfills Himself in many ways. He answered Erasmus with Loyola and Zinzendorf, Xavier and Livingstone.

CHAPTER 5

B. C. 2080–A. D. 1898

THE ENVIRONMENT OF AFRICAN MISSIONS

Wide Afric, doth thy sun
Lighten, thy hills enfold a city as fair
As those which starred the night o' the elder world?
Or is the rumor of thy Timbuktu
A dream as frail as those of ancient time?
. . . The time is well-nigh come
When I must render up this glorious home
To keen discovery; soon yon brilliant towers
Shall darken with the waving of her wand;
Darken and shrink and shiver into huts,
Black specks amid a waste of dreary sand,
Low-built, mud-walled, barbarian settlements.

Tennyson

A DREAM AND AN AWAKENING. (I) THE MATERIAL ENVIRONMENTS. CLIMATE AND DISEASE. AFRICAN MISSION-SPHERES. THEIR CHARACTERISTICS. SOME RELIGIOUS STATISTICS. (II) THE FORCES OF DEVELOPMENT. THE BANTU NEGRO. HIS LANGUAGES. THE SUDANESE NEGRO. NEGRO TRAITS. GENERAL QUALITIES. SPECIFIC DIFFERENTIATIONS. ETHICS AND INTELLECT. CAPACITY FOR CULTURE. HAMITIC PEOPLES. THE FULBE. THE GALLA. THE SHEMITIC FAMILY. ABYSSINIA. THE ARAB. HIS ACHIEVEMENT. ARABIC. AFRICAN HISTORY. 1520–1735. 1736–1815. SLAVERY AND SPIRITS. SUPPRESSAL OF SLAVING. ANOTHER DEVIL'S-MISSION. 1816–75: YEARS OF PREPARATION. 1876–98: ANNEXATION. POLITICAL RESULTS. INFLUENCE OF EUROPE. (III) RELIGIOUS FORCES AND SPIRITUAL ENVIRONMENTS. KOPTS. ETHIOPIC CHRISTIANITY. ISLAM. NEGRO PAGANISM. THE LIFTING OF THE CURTAIN.

I

The Material Environment

In 1829 a Cambridge student, inspired by antique Chapman's fancy that deep in lion-haunted Africa lay "a mystic city, goal of high emprise", dreamed of an Ethiop Eldorado and celestial city. Sixty years later the laureate of England had learned that the vision must go the way of Prester John. The dream and the awakening fell within the eighty years of Alfred Tennyson. Reality dispossessed romance of her empire. It is ours to handle facts as to actual Africa.

Modern African missions, bye-and-large, are missions to Negroes. The Hamitic and Shemitic races have not, except among the Galla and Kabyle and the Abyssinian and Arab peoples, been brought within the scope of this century's Christianizing influences. They also seem to be waning forces in the development of Africa. On these accounts they may be temporarily excluded from consideration among the factors in the material environment of African missions. Again, the Malagasi have been so mainly the field of British Congregationalists, the Hottentot and Bushman so peculiarly the charge of the Unity of Brethren, that it appears more serviceable to relegate these peoples respectively to the chapters on Congregational and "Moravian" missions. Finally, the European and the Hindi in Africa do not, technically, constitute parts of African missions proper, and must be provisionally eliminated from discussion. As every school-boy (and they, too, who were school-boys in Macaulay's time) is acquainted with physical Africa, such topics as its area, shape, structure; waters, mountains and deserts; and products or resources are intentionally

ignored. The following sketch of the evolutionary forces confines itself to the peoples and religions that are objects of missionary ffeort. As every proposition in the whole chapter must be in the shape of a general statement, this presentation of principles stands without excepting or limitary details, and substantial accuracy alone is sought.

The first fact in the material environment that calls for practical handling on the part of the candidate for African service is that seven tenths of Africa lie between the tropics; that from Cancer to Capricorn the mean annual temperature is 80° F.; and that north and south of these latitudes it is but ten degrees less. Were it not for every three hundred feet of land-elevation generally lowering heat one degree and for the night-radiation of heat being rapid, Africa would be uninhabitable. The altitude of the plateaus ensures cool nights, whose value for health may be inferred from the circumstance that India, even in the latitude of Abyssinia, suffers from sultriness; but malaria exists here as on the coastal rim, and the daily variation from heat to cold is most trying. Other circumstances being equal, the plateaus would allow lengthened residence and reasonable activity to Americans and Europeans starting with fair constitutions and exercising ordinary care. Where enormous rains enhance the effect of heat the tax on non-African constitutions is still severer. Life in such Turkish baths necessitates frequent returns to America or to Europe or visits to African sanitariums, and involves white men in the largest expense. But science now arms the missionary with new resources, and will continue to equip him with more. Most men and women of good health and sound constitution can work where natives thrive. Illness must be endured, but with care, quinine and re-

TABLE OF THE AMOUNT OF DISEASE IN DIFFERENT DISTRICTS

BY

R. W. FELKIN, M.D.

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS: No Star: Absence of Disease. One Star: Presence of Disease. Dagger: Prevalence of Disease. Double Dagger: Great Prevalence of Disease.

	Marocco	Algeria	Tunisia	Tripolitana	Egypt	Sahara	Senegambia	Sierra Leone and Liberia	Gold Coast	Niger Delta	Bight of Biafra	Kongo	Cape Colony	Natal, Zululand	Transvaal	Bechuanaland	East Coast	Sudan	South Central Africa	Abyssinia	Seychelles	Madagascar	Mauritius
Abscess of the Liver	*	†	*		†		†	*	*	*	*	*					*		*				
Anchylostomum Duodenale or Egyptian Bloodlessness					‡		*					†											
Beri-Beri								†	*			‡					*	*				†	*?
Cholera	*	*	*	*	*		*	*									*	†	*	*			
Dengue or Dandy-Fever or Bone-Break				*	*		†										‡	*	*				†
Diarrhœa	*	‡	†			†	‡	†	*	‡	†	*	†	†	†	†	‡	†	†	†		‡	†
Diphtheria			†											†	†		†						
Dysentery	†	‡	†		‡	†	‡	†	*	‡	†	*	†	†	†	†	‡	†	†	†	†	†	†
Elephantiasis Arabum or inflamed skin-thickening	†				†		*	*	†	*		*					‡	*	†				†
Filaria or worms in the blood or the skin					†							*											
Guinea-Worm or Hair-Worm					†		†	*	*	†		*						‡	†				
Hæmaturia or blood in the urine					†								‡	‡					*				
Hepatitis or inflammation of the liver		†	*		†		†		*	*	†	†				*	†	*	*		†	*	†
Leprosy	‡	‡	‡		‡		†	*	†	*	*	*	*		*		†	*	†	†	†	*	†
Malaria or intermittent and remittent fevers	†	†	†	*	*	*	‡	‡	‡	‡	†	‡		*	*	*	‡	†	†	*		†	†
Measles		†	*		*		†					*	*	*	†	*	*		*				
Ophthalmia or inflammation of the eyeball	‡				‡											‡	†	†	‡				‡
Oriental Sore or endemic ulcer	†	‡	†		*																		
Phthisis or consumption	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*		†	†	†	*				*	*		*	*	*
Plague, The or bubonic epidemic	*	*	*	*	*													*	*				
Relapsing Fever or remittent bilious fever	*	*			†															*			
Rheumatism { Acute	*	†	‡		‡		‡		*		‡	†				†	†	*	‡				
Rheumatism { Chronic	†		‡		‡		‡		†				‡			*	*	*	†	‡		†	
Respiratory Diseases	*	†	*		*	†	†	†		‡		†	*	*	*	*	*	‡	†	†		*	
Scarlet Fever			*		*									*		*							
Sleeping-Sickness or Negro lethargy							†	†			†	‡											
Smallpox	†	†	*		†		‡		†				*	*		*	‡	‡	†	†			
Syphilis	‡	*	‡		‡	†	‡		‡				†			†	‡	‡	‡	‡	*	*	†
Typhoid	†	‡	*	*	†	†	*	*			*		†	†	†	*	*	†	†	†		*	†
Typhus	*	*		*									*?										
Yaws, a chronic, contagious, epidemic skin-disease							*	†	‡	*	*	‡						*	*				
Yellow or African fever							†	‡	†	*													

turns to cool countries the average individual can generally render several terms of service to missions in tropical Africa. In sub-tropical or temperate Africa the opportunity for prolonged usefulness is of course larger. Every candidate for African service ought to be thoroughly acquainted with the hygienic principles and procedure indicated by Doctors Cross and Felkin, the former in *Health in Africa*, the latter in *Disease in Africa* and *Geographical Distribution of Tropical Diseases.*

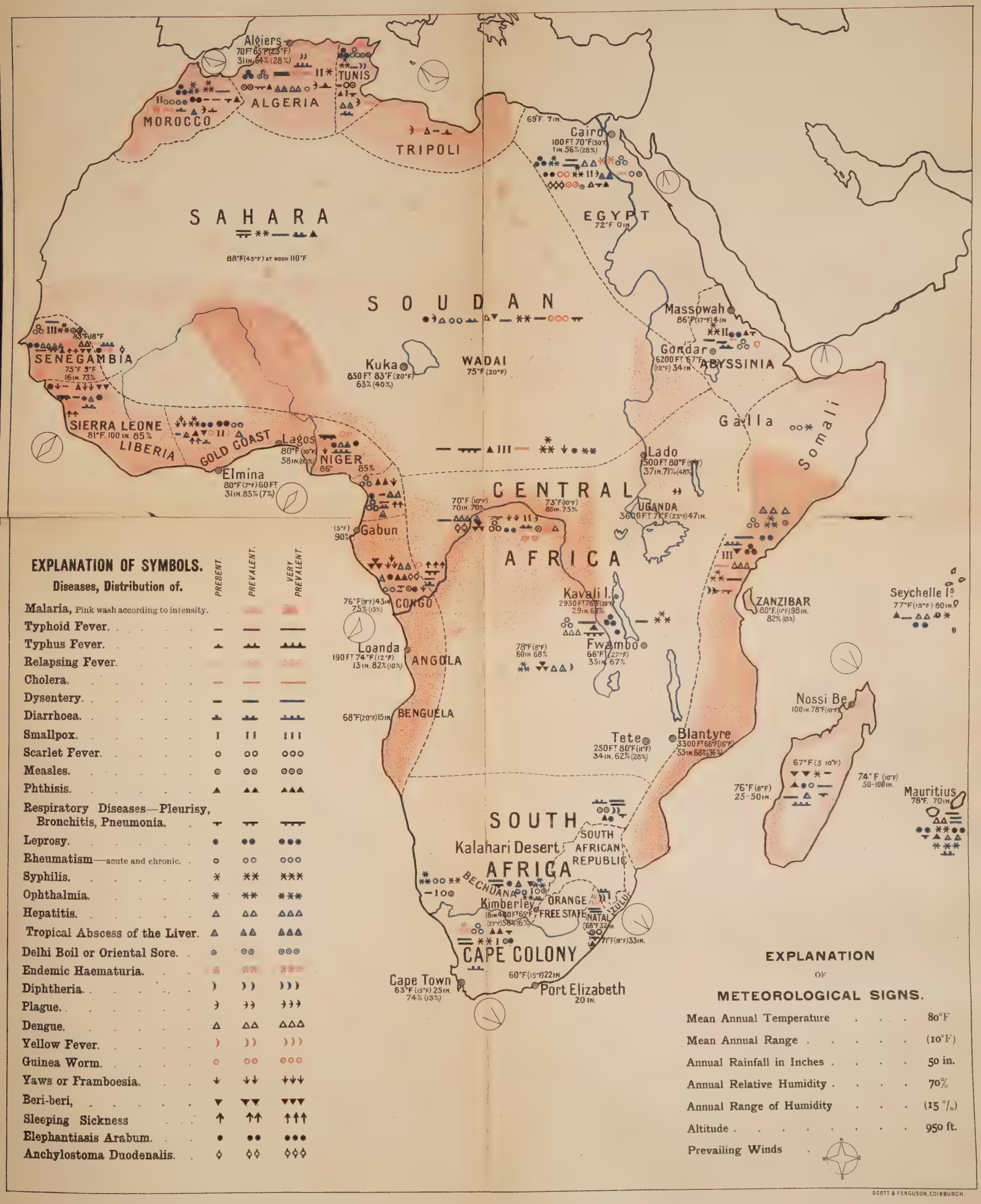
Several common European maladies are unknown or very rare. Cancer, croup, malarial and typhoid fevers and tooth-diseases seldom attack the Negro, but he suffers from bilious and skin disorders. Tetanus is much dreaded, and the least change of climate exposes him to pulmonary troubles. Black men fall victims to cholera, white men to yellow fever. The outstanding diseases which, with the exception of yellow fever, prevail throughout Africa, comprise diarrhœa, dysentery and malaria. To live in tropical Africa people from temperate climes must possess certain characteristics. Individuals of bilious or bilio-nervous temperament are best qualified. The sanguine temperament does well only for a time. Persons with lymphatic temperament, or with malarious, rheumatic, scorbutic or syphilitic histories, or having a tendency to heart-disease must remain at home. Women with any bias toward women's diseases are unsuitable. No person under twenty-five should go. Incipient consumptives do well in the north and south, and if they have not to undergo great physical exertion may live in tropical Africa. The coolest season is the best for a first arrival. The ocean-voyage is so relaxing that the missionary should before starting put himself in the best of physical condition.

Carey's Africa (1761-1834) as a sphere of missions

might be described almost in a single stroke. It consisted simply of Africa by the sea. But ours requires quartering into continental divisions. These are formed by natural rather than political boundaries, and though sometimes arbitrary, sometimes vague, possess permanence. For missionary purposes Africa comprises East Africa, North Africa, South Africa and West Africa. East Africa extends from Abyssinia to the Zambezi and from the Indian ocean to the Nile, Lakes Nyasa and Tanganika and the sources of Zambezi River. Its political divisions include Obok, Somalia, Gallaland, Equatoria, Gazelle Province, Uganda, Ibea, Pemba, Zanzibar, German East Africa, Mozambique, Madagascar, Mauritius and other *quasi* African islands and British Central Africa and Nyasaland. North Africa falls between Sudan and the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and the Red Sea, though the phrase as a political term is often restricted to Mediterranean Africa, oftener still to Algeria, Marocco and Tunisia. Abyssinia; Eritrea, Egypt, Fur, Kordo, Nubia and Senaar; Tripoli with Barka and Fezzan; Algeria and Tunisia; and Marocco are the chief states. Sahara and Central Sudan, the latter comprising the Muhammadan powers of Adamawa, Bagirmi, Bornu, Kanem and Wadai, might perhaps be excluded from actual missionary lands. South Africa lies between the Atlantic and Indian oceans, with the Kunene and Zambezi rivers as its northern bound. British South Africa, consisting of Cape Colony, Natal, Rhodesia, Southern Zambezia and Zululand; Dutch South Africa or the Orange State and the South African Republic; German Southwest Africa; and Portuguese Sofala form the political powers. West Africa extends from Kunene to Senegal River, while a line between Sahara and Sudan, Wadai and Fur, and the Kongo feeders and those of the Nile indi-

DISTRIBUTION OF DISEASE IN AFRICA

BY R. W. FELKIN. M.D.



EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS.

Diseases, Distribution of.	PRESENT.	PREVALENT.	VERY PREVALENT.
Malaria, Pink wash according to intensity.			
Typhoid Fever.	—	—	—
Typhus Fever.	▲	▲▲	▲▲▲
Relapsing Fever.			
Cholera.	—	—	—
Dysentery.	—	—	—
Diarrhoea.	▲	▲▲	▲▲▲
Smallpox.	I	II	III
Scarlet Fever.	o	oo	ooo
Measles.	⊙	⊙⊙	⊙⊙⊙
Phthisis.	▲	▲▲	▲▲▲
Respiratory Diseases—Pleurisy, Bronchitis, Pneumonia.	⊤	⊤⊤	⊤⊤⊤
Leprosy.	•	••	•••
Rheumatism—acute and chronic.	o	oo	ooo
Syphilis.	*	**	***
Ophthalmia.	*	**	***
Hepatitis.	△	△△	△△△
Tropical Abscess of the Liver.	▲	▲▲	▲▲▲
Delhi Boil or Oriental Sore.	⊙	⊙⊙	⊙⊙⊙
Endemic Haematuria.	*	**	***
Diphtheria.	)	))	)))
Plague.	⤸	⤸⤸	⤸⤸⤸
Dengue.	△	△△	△△△
Yellow Fever.	)	))	)))
Guinea Worm.	⊙	⊙⊙	⊙⊙⊙
Yaws or Framboesia.	↓	↓↓	↓↓↓
Beri-beri,	▼	▼▼	▼▼▼
Sleeping Sickness	↑	↑↑	↑↑↑
Elephantiasis Arabum.	•	••	•••
Anchylostoma Duodenalis.	◊	◊◊	◊◊◊

EXPLANATION OF METEOROLOGICAL SIGNS.

Mean Annual Temperature	80°F
Mean Annual Range	(10°F)
Annual Rainfall in Inches	50 in.
Annual Relative Humidity	70%
Annual Range of Humidity	(15 °/₀)
Altitude	950 ft.
Prevailing Winds	

SCOTT & FERGUSON, EDINBURGH.

cates its boundaries toward the northeast. East Africa, Sahara and South Africa respectively limit West Africa east, north and south. First in extent, possibly first in importance, among these West African states comes Belgian Kongo. By the Welle it reaches toward Sudan; by the Aruwimi into Equatoria; by the Lualaba into East Africa; and by the southern tributaries of the Kongo almost into Zambezia. Next come French Kongo and French Sudan, the former reaching north toward Lake Chad and northeast toward the Nile, the latter extending from the Atlantic to the Niger and from Sahara to the Gulf of Guinea. Portugal holds vast Angola and large archipelagoes and many patches. Germany has Kamerun at the corner of Guinea, to say nothing of Togo, and is gaining Adamawa and Bagirmi. Britain rests in Nigeria, the valley of the Niger, where the Oil Rivers were a protectorate, and Gandu and Sokotu were feudatories of the Niger company. The British government assumed active administration on April 1, 1898. Ashanti, Gambia, Lagos and Sierra Leone are by courtesy styled British colonies. Liberia is called a republic, settled and ruled by American Negroes, but apparently destined to lose its independence at the hand of France. The sooner Britain, France and Germany control or divide Belgian Kongo among them, the better; especially if British hands hold the river of Livingstone.

Each of these spheres of African missions possesses individual characteristics. East Africa is the Indian or oriental region. Three hundred thousand Hindi and Sikhs have settled along its coast. Papal missions came in 1520, Protestant ones in 1844 on the mainland, in 1818 at Madagascar and 1814 at Mauritius. North Africa forms the Mediterranean mission-field. It is ancient, medieval and modern; Christian, Muhammadan

and pagan; European, Hamite and Shemitic. Rome has been here since medieval days, and Protestantism came in 1634. South Africa constitutes the interoceanic sphere. Once wholly barbaric, civilization has spread more widely than elsewhere in Africa. Roman missions appear never to have worked here before 1847, but Schmid inaugurated Protestant missions in 1737. Many South African missions are situated far in the interior, but in the other spheres this is not nearly so much the case. West Africa is the Atlantean land. In its American and Ethiopic relations it is pre-eminently the Negro mission-field. The deadliness of the climate and, despite this, the clinging of missions to the coast make the marked features of work in this region. Rome was a missionary here when Protestantism was born, but the purer faith came about 1550. Denmark, England or Holland may have done mission-work before 1700, but the Unity of Brethren was certainly the first (1736), as in South Africa, to open genuine Protestant missions. So far as can now be ascertained Heyling, the presumably Lutheran lawyer of Luebeck, Germany, through the influence of Groot (Grotius) the Dutch Presbyterian, was the first Protestant missionary in Africa. He visited Abyssinia in 1634-35, translated the New Testament into Amharic, and attained no little success.

About 1780 Pinkerton and Volney estimated the population of Africa as approximating thirty millions. In 1882 Behm and Wagner gave it as two hundred and five million, eight hundred and twenty-five thousand. In 1895, according to the data and processes of Ravenstein, the highest authority, it should have been one hundred and forty-eight million, though Keane advocated one hundred and seventy million, seven hundred and eighty thousand. Hesse in 1893 gave one hundred and sixty-

nine million as the number, of which the Kopts comprised six hundred thousand and the Ethiopic Christians six millions. In the judgment of the present writer the population of Africa and all adjacent islands in round figures numbers one hundred and seventy-five millions. Yet *The Mail* of London, as this book began to be printed, said: "Africa presents an enormous field of difficulties. Estimates are constantly varying because explorers come upon centers of population whose real extent is unknown. The most careful statisticians admit that their estimates may be fifty million out".

We may, however, study Keane's religious statistics for Africa. He enumerated one hundred and twenty-five million pagans; forty million Muhammadans; five million Christians; and four hundred and thirty thousand Jews. The Koptic and Ethiopic Christians together numbered three millions; the Latin church claimed one million, two hundred thousand adherents; and the Protestants comprised eight hundred and twenty thousand people. With the exception of the Abyssinians and Egyptians *these* Christians are of European ancestry. The converts from heathenism and Islam belong to the numerical results of missions, and will be discussed at the conclusion of the work.

If pagans be distinguishable from heathens as people whose religion possesses no sacred book, Africa is the pagan continent. One hundred and twenty-five million of the world's one hundred and fifty-five million, six hundred and twenty thousand pagans are Africans. Over two hundred agencies are carrying on African missions, neither China nor India, though each has a vaster population, receiving more attention. Some of these organizations work only in one quarter of Africa, but most of them in two and a few in all. Their forces

consist of twenty-five hundred Protestant missionaries, including ordained ministers, laymen, wives and other women, with ten thousand native helpers; and of seven hundred and fifty Roman priests with a number of other papal missioners whose statistics are not given. But the missionary century began in Africa with less than one-hundredth of this force.

II

The Forces of Development

The Bantu is the most important native factor in the development of Africa. He is this in virtue of his capacities and territorial expansion. His range extends, roughly, from Sudan into Cape Colony and Madagascar. Graceful in attitude, proud in carriage and character, he speaks a language whose dialects are so analogous in type through their derivation from a common and original stock that the Kongoan of West Africa and the Swahili of Zanguebar, the Ugandan and the Zulu soon have little difficulty in understanding each other. His speech is agglutinative, pronominal and without signs for sex. This means that he declines his nouns and conjugates his verbs by gluing a word to them (agglutination), by putting it at the beginning instead of at the end (prefixing), by making it do duty for a noun or play the part of a verb (pronominalism), and by inflecting language without regard to the artificial distinctions of grammatical gender (sexlessness). These prefixed particles, called inflexes, inflectors or pronominal prefixes, comprise six or eight classes, and express ideas of agreement and relationship. The kind of prefix and its form in the plural divide substantives into classes*.

*Elmslie of Livingstonia mission lays down the scientific principle for spelling the names of African languages or tribes: "The variable prefix should be

The root of a noun is itself unchangeable, the changes in the inflecting prefix showing whether it be subject or object. The grammar of a sentence consists of alliteration. Whatever adjectives, pronouns or verbs have any connection with the noun repeat its prefix. This repetition of sounds constitutes alliterative agreement, and expresses the relation between the words. A pronoun assimilates itself to the prefix of the noun it represents. An adjective agrees with its noun by taking the prefix. A predicate agrees with the subject by taking substantially its prefix. If an Englishman expressed himself in Bantu fashion, the sentence: "Men admire your fine cattle", would run in this wise: "I=men i=admire ir i=fine i=cattle". This alliteration, this repetition of the inflecting prefix of the noun, is the interlocking switch of Bantu. It prevents the very children from using bad grammar. Such intricacy of structure finds no parallel in any other linguistic family, except Gor and Mande in West Africa. The principle of alliterative concordance offers one of the most astonishing phenomena in human culture.

The beauty, plastic power and richness of Bantu languages delight and amaze all. They possess almost limitless flexibility, pliancy and softness. Their grammat-

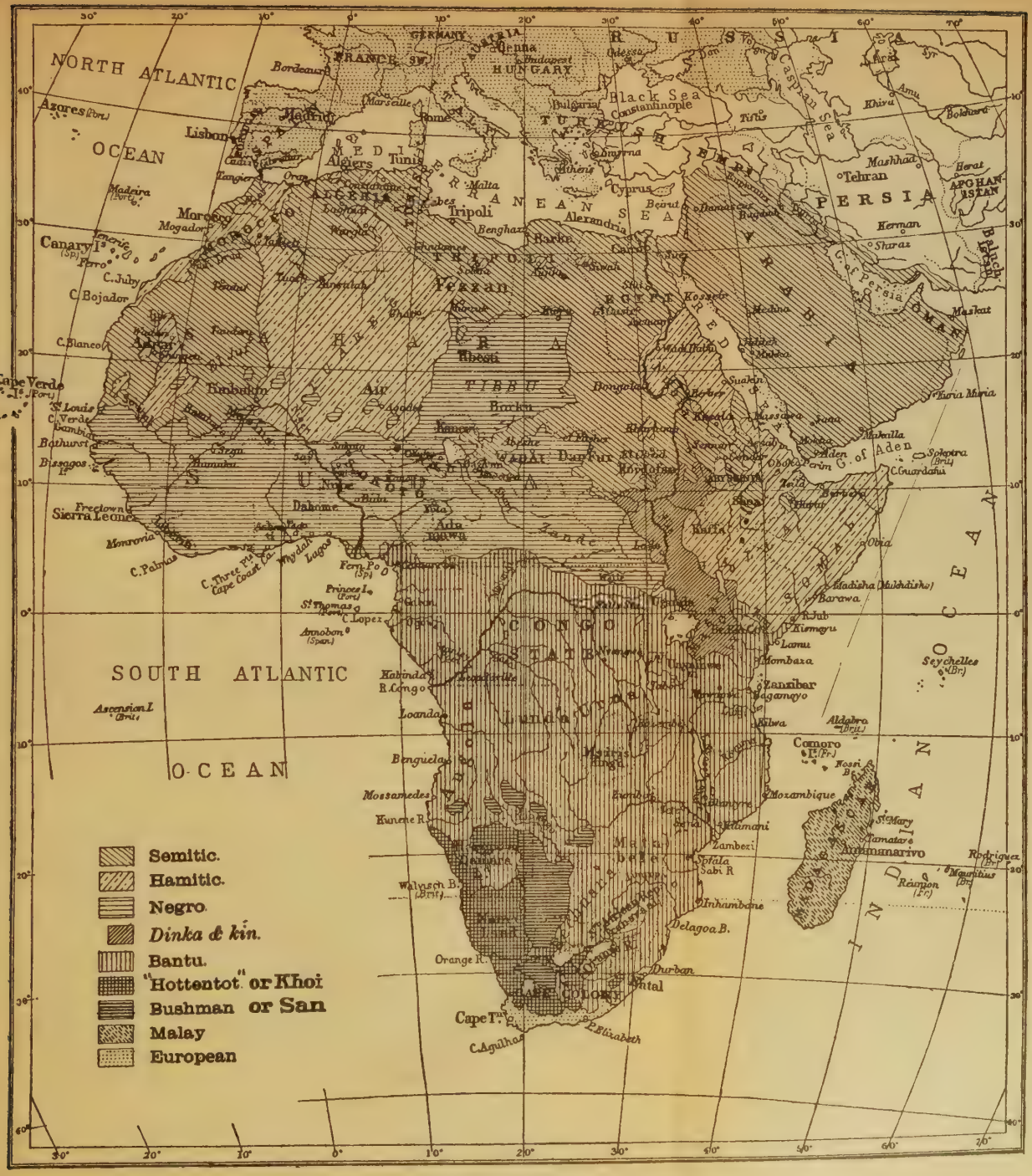
omitted, the unvarying root=form taken. It is questionable whether the rude native, unaffected by the white man, uses the prefix in that way at all. In Zulu the native uses it in that way only because his teachers do so. The Ngoni do not speak of their language as Tshi=Ngoni, except when following the white man's *error*".

There are prefixes especially to express these ideas: an individual; his nationality; his speech; and the people. The prefixes A=, Ba=, Ma=, Wa= mean men. A=Yao means Yao people; Ba=Kongo, Kongo people; Wa=Ganda, Ganda people. The prefixes Bu= or U= mean country or land: Bu=Ganda or U=Ganda (Anglicized wrongly as Uganda) is Ganda=land; U=Gogo is Gogo country. We ought to write Ganda, but as this would be confused with Gando (Gandu) on the Niger, the Anglicized form must stand. If, instead of England, we said Land=Eng, we should speak in Bantu fashion. The prefixes Ki=, Si= or Se=, Lu= or Tshi= mean language. Ki=Swahili, Lu=Ganda, Si=Chwana (Tshi=Chwana) and Se=Sutu mean the Swahili, Ganda, Chwana (Chuana or Bechwana) and Sutu languages. M=, Mo= and Mu= mean a man: Mu=Ganda, man of Ganda.

Bantu or Ba=Ntu is itself merely a plural form, meaning men, they or the people. It is preferable to Kafir, a cant Arabic term meaning infidel, and applied as well to Kafiristan or Infidel=land in Asia as to any African pagans.

ical principles are founded on the most philosophical and systematic basis. Their vocabularies are susceptible of infinite expansion. They can express even delicate shades of thought and feeling. Perhaps no other languages are capable of greater definiteness and precision. Grout doubts whether Zulu — the purest type of a Bantu dialect, the lordly language of the south, the speech of a conquering and superior race — is surpassed in forming derivatives by German or Greek. Livingstone characterized as witnesses to the poverty of their own attainments men who complain of the poverty of Bantu languages. Bentley, after referring to the flexibility, fulness, subtlety of idea and nicety of expression in Kongoan, accredits this wealth of forms and ideas to the Bantu family in bulk. The wide sway of these qualities points out their immense practical importance to civilization. Three languages may be taken as the English tongue of their respective spheres. Zulu stretches from Natal to Nyasa, Swahili from Zanzibar well-nigh across equatorial Africa, and Mbundu (Ngolan) from Portuguese West Africa far eastward. In French Kongo the Fan (Mpangwe) and in Belgian Kongo below Livingstone Falls the Kongoan are strong developing factors. But Zulu, Swahili and Mbundu form representative and standard languages for the south, the east, the west. The unity in variety of Bantu speech, its flexibleness, power of growth and molding give ground for the belief that the best elements of the best languages may be embodied in a language classic, complete and one.* Through the survival of the fittest Zulu has for a century been displacing its neighbors. To aid Swahili and Mbundu in such a linguistic trend, so that the fifty million Bantu of the future may speak one speech, chaste and simple,

*See *British Central Africa*, pp. 478-531.



DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES IN AFRICA.

expressive, rich and strong, is among the high callings of missionary and scholar. The Scriptures offer the supreme instrument.

Second, perhaps, in importance come the Sudanese or true Negroes. They range between Senegal and Sobat Rivers and from Sahara to the Gulf of Guinea, Welle River and Lake Albert*. In contrast with the land of the Bantu the Negro habitat is long but narrow, extending over thirty-five hundred miles east and west, but averaging only seven hundred miles north and south. Their situation has made Sudan a hunting-ground for slaves. Within this contracted domain we find no such ethnical nor linguistic unity as among the Bantu. Against the three groups in the Bantu family must be set six or eight in the Negro clan†. Mande is the most important and widely extended Negro language in West Africa, and the Mandingo a fine, intelligent, enterprising race. Veh possesses unique interest as the only Negro language with a native alphabet, the only one invented by a Negro. The Ashanti group includes Yariba, a well-known language extending from Dahome to the Kwarra (Middle Niger) and promising to become the most important in its field. The Yariba are enterprising, and their speech is much used for missionary work. The Niger group includes languages of great value, Idzo promising to develop through the missionary into a powerful and wide spread vernacular. Educated Idzos, intelligently interested in their race and speech, have voluntarily formed dialect and folk-

*Lepsius proved the Nuba of Kordo and the Nubians of the Nile to be of allied Negro speech and stock. This brings the Negro as far north as Assuan, Egypt; *i. e.*, into the temperate zone.

†Bleek, Lepsius and Norris believed in a philological relation between the Bantu and Negro families; but Bentley considers them as far apart as Aryan, Shemitic or Turanian; Wilson failed to find even the most distant affinity; and Cust, Grout and Friedrich Mueller think it almost impossible to conceive how Bantu and Negro languages could be more unlike.

lore clubs. This argues capacity to adopt and utilize the intellectual institutions of civilization. In the Chad group the Hausa has spread farthest and acquired most usefulness. The vernacular of a numerous people, it offers a valuable medium of communication through vast districts on both sides of the Binwe and the Niger. In extent of use it surpasses all other languages in inner Africa, serving not only as the mother-tongue of millions but as a world-speech between tribes of different languages and between Mediterranean and Sudanese Africa. Hausa is remarkable for simplicity, elegance and wealth of vocabulary. It stands among the world's imperial languages, magnificent, rich and sonorous, beautiful and facile in grammatical structure, enjoying a harmony in the forms of its words and a symphonic symmetry that few tongues can equal, and assured of prolonged existence and vast expansion. It is the Latin of Central Sudan.

The existence of the Negro family of languages in scores of distinct and isolated forms presents an unparalleled record of the power of the human intellect. Next to religion this ethereal, thaumaturgic thing we call speech is the most eternal and spiritual achievement of man.

The Bantu and the Sudanese, though differing linguistically, are so alike in character and culture that it is permissible to treat them together as forming a single Negro race.*

Africa is the home of the most man-like apes and the most ape-like men. Anthropologists hastily inferred the descent of black men from chimpanzees or gorillas, but closer study betrayed the baselessness of the assumption. The facial angle, that made by a line from brow

*Compare *British Central Africa*, pp. 389-477, with the five following paragraphs. Johnston has there published a cyclopedia, virtually, and the information is both the best and the most recent.

to teeth with another from nose to ear, constitutes an index of intelligence. The greater the intelligence, the greater its index. This is 75° in the chimpanzee, 72° in the gorilla and 70° in the Negro. The ape was more intelligent than man! But how could a being with the lesser index of intelligence have evolved from one possessing a greater facial angle? The absurdity of the conclusion demonstrated the fallacy of the premises. The fact that the intelligence of the Negro is actually greater than that of the ape disproves the fancy that the black man is its descendant. The enormous disparity between the average capacity of the skull in the Negro and in the ape remains incapable of physical explanation. That of the chimpanzee is four hundred and seventeen, of the gorilla five hundred but of the Negro seventeen hundred and eighteen cubic centimeters. (86.2 cub. in.) Though the broadest Negro brain does not reach the average of the Germans, the best Australian one does not equal that of the average Negro. The European can boast a cranial capacity only five and nine-tenths inches greater than the African's, but the Negro possesses four and five-tenths inches more than the Australian and over twenty inches above the gorilla. The likenesses between the ape and the Negro lie on the surface, but the differences are deep, radical and vital. Science shows the Negro to be a man.

The Negro has been styled the St John of humanity. His type is essentially feminine. Its general characteristics comprise delicacy of articulation; pink nails; roundness of muscles; scantness of beard; softness of voice; and velvetiness of skin. Inquisitive but timid; coquettish and jealous; a great gossip; quick to love, to quarrel, to be reconciled, the Negro delights in submission and sacrifices himself for his oppressor. The

union of such devotion and docility with fine physiques and great strength makes him an ideal servant. His blood is thicker and less red than that of the white man. Coagulating more quickly, it flows less swiftly. Of less sensitive temperament than Europeans and Americans, his nervous life is less intense, his pulsation less active, his suffering and danger from surgical operations less. Comedians and tobacconists have passed a counterfeit Negro on the public as the representative of the race, but this caricature is contradicted by the testimony of travelers. They often speak of classic figures and European features among Bantu and Sudanese. Where the Christian slave-trade caused the greatest havoc, the Negro approaches nearest the conventional type.

Among the chief points where the Negro differs most from the white man are these: projection of the chin beyond the brow, giving the face an animal look; blackness and fulness of the eye; a short, snub nose with deeply depressed top, broad tip and dilated nostrils; protrusion and thickness of the lips*; height and prominence in the cheek-bones; enormous thickness of skull; a blackish or deep-brown complexion; black, frizzly, short, woolly hair; a cool, soft, thick skin, mostly hairless and as rancid as a goat's; medium stature; and over-early closing of the joints uniting the bones of the skull. Keane maintains that the premature ossification of these seams prevents further development of the brain, and causes inherent mental inferiority. As the brain is the stepping-stone between body and spirit, is the instrument of the intellect, inferiority here would be more important than any physical inferiority. Keane adds that the Negro child is quite as intelligent as

*Peschel: "The thin lips of Europeans and their American descendants are a character that brings them nearer the apes".

others, but puberty arrests progress. In white men the life-long expansion of the brain-pan permits the brain to grow in volume. With Negroes the premature close of the skull-seams and the side-pressure of the forehead check such growth. But, as Peschel pointed out, the validity of such statements can be established only by a great number of observations. These can be obtained only by long-continued accumulation. Hence skulls with abnormally or prematurely closed sutures must be excluded.

The Negro is unmoral. So far as he knows the difference between right and wrong, he recognizes the obligation of duty. His code of ethics is as strict in its plane as the commandments of Moses and Jesus for us. He is an overgrown child, and his faults as a barbarian are those of human nature. Demonstrative, self-indulgent, impulsive, theatrical and vain, he is a kindly man, no worse than our own barbarous ancestors. Generally he treats the slave as a member of his family. Though on occasion as cruel as only boys and savages can be, he lacks the lust for blood and torture that made the Iroquois a hell-hound. While such tribes as the Dahomans and Zulus possess superb soldiership, the Negro race is not bellicose. Government is half-patriarchal, half-feudal; but despotism is not absolute, for the power of the head-chiefs is derived from and modified by the lesser chieftains. The more the darkness lifts from African civilizations, though inferior in intellectual power to the Chinese and the Indians, the less we feel inclined to rate Negro culture below that of the Bedawin and the Berber. As a farmer the Negro is more efficient than the Chinese and the Hindi. Selous credits him with building the structures at Simbabye and with working the Shuna gold-mines. Negro dexterity in the practice

of a new hand-craft is remarkable. His precocity in book-learning is equally great. His capacity of endurance seems infinite; pestilence, rum, slavery, war and the woes of barbarian society have never exhausted his stamina and vitality. His animal spirits are irrepressible. Pagan Africa dances and sings when the sun goes down. He works willingly, though the easiness of life in a tropical home enables him to exemplify Emerson's assertion that "we are all as lazy as we dare to be". As a free man he is capable of any amount of work. The bonds of kinship are so strong that home-sickness is one of his most fatal affections. Love among Negro mothers is as potent as among white women, and their influence much greater than that of the father. The man performs the tasks of strength, the woman those of skill and endurance. The Negro is a born diplomat, orator and trader; and his inner life finds expression in a folk-lore not without poetry and power and in a theological thought possessing lofty and noble ideas, however concealed and defiled by superstition and witchcraft.

We must term the Negro half-civilized. An extinct civilization in Fezzan, outdating the Carthaginians, has been rightly credited to him; and though he might have had only a share in originating it, the presumption is that his native genius had struck out its path before Berber, Carthaginian, Egyptian, Hellene, Roman or Saracen sent germs of culture to Sudan. The smelting and working of iron afford an instance. This, the most useful of metallurgic discoveries, is an independent invention of the Negro; yet the aborignal American, his mental superior, never attained the art. The average of Negro civilizations, though below those of Mexico, Peru and Yucatan, is higher than that of America's other Indians. Evidence abounds to demonstrate the fact that

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very many tribes untouched by foreign influence have independently and voluntarily risen above the plane where Cæsar found the British and even from European stand-points are quite civilized. To cite another concrete proof, the Negro is a greater bridge-builder than the Germans whom Tacitus knew. Nor has the Negro devoted his native capacity merely to material advancement. He has revealed natural ability to build great states and to govern himself. Ashanti and Dahome prove this. Such kings of men, genuine and home-bred, as Tshaka and Ketchwayo the Zulu, Sibituani the Kololo, Gezo the Dahoman or Ahmadu the Bambara are nature's precedent for such statesmen as Douglass and L'Ouverture. They were the premises of which these through Christianity became the logical conclusion. Negro progress has also been made in the teeth of surroundings adverse to spontaneous advance. We may therefore accord to African cultures a respect little less than that yielded to American semi-civilizations.*

Third in value as potentialities for remaking Africa in the twentieth century stand the Hamite peoples. These are indeed men of old time, men of renown. Among them belong the Egyptian and his degenerate descendant, the Kopt; the Berber of Mediterranean and Saharan Africa; the Daza-Teda of East Sahara; the Fulah of Sudan; the Galla and Masai of East Africa; and the Somal of its eastern horn.† Anarchy is the dominant chord in the Hamite. His home as a rule is the desert, mountain or mountainous plateau. His is the strength of the hills; his alas! the changeful changelessness of the shifting sands. The Kabyle of the Atlas up-

*Dr D. G. Brinton and Professor A. K. Keane dissent from this view, and it is not a light matter to differ from them; but the evidence adduced by these scientists fails in convincing power, as it apparently omits several essential elements.

†Lejean actually considers the Galla or Oromo an Aryan people.

lands in Algeria and Marocco resemble the Hellenes in love of freedom. The Berber was the mainstay of the medieval states in North Africa. Throughout Barbary the Fatimite empire rested on Berber support. From the tenth to the sixteenth century the dynasties, even when claiming descent from an illustrious Arab stock, were Berber. Their Fulah cousin is a born master, and every wandering herdsman contains the seeds of empire. The Imohagh or Tuwarik of Central Sahara and the Goraan-Tubu of East Sahara recall the Bedawin of Arabia in their anarchistic and haughty independence. The high position of the Imohagh woman, who will have none of polygamy, and of her Berber sisters augurs favorably for the future of these peoples. Christianity has placed its mission-lever under the Kopts and Kabyles, has touched the northern and southern edges of Gallaland, and from Aden is beginning to reach Somalia; but long years must elapse before it can close with the bulk of the Berber in inaccessible Sahara, the Fulah in Sudan, the Oromo and Somal in North-East Africa. Christianity and modern civilization have no more herculean task among their African labors than the mastery and shaping of the Berber, as eternal as the hills, as unchanging as the sea.

The Fulah came late to the front. Since the beginning of this century fanaticism, greed and war have raised him from herding cattle to the headship of Sudan between Timbuktu and Bornu, but the Maba, a Negro stock, are now the ruling race. Though the political power, prowess and zeal of the Fulah have waned since 1850, the British, French and Germans must reckon with this brainy, enterprising man as a factor in reshaping Nigeria. His many dialects are essentially one, and have a considerable literature. In some places he has

founded schools, and composed text-books of elementary instruction. A Sokotu prince wrote a grammar of Fulah in that language. Reichardt, a German authority on Fulah, describes it as complicated and rich, one of the most important throughout Africa, and of much importance to all linguists. Its aggressive spirit and expansive power, great extent, strength, vitality and youthful vigor make it one of the molding influences on the Negro. When Christianity at length wins the Fulah, he will be no weak ally for the spiritual conquest of Sudan.

The chiefs of the Bantu peoples around the great lakes are Huma. These are of Galla stock, and thus Hamitic in origin. The Galla have for three and a half if not four centuries been associated with Abyssinia and affected by the contact. Undue stress need not be laid on the influence of barbarous Christianity and of semi-civilization, but the Galla as agriculturists and herdsmen and in the industrial arts are most advanced where bordering on Abyssinia. The pagan Galla are famous for fidelity and frankness, and the Huma Galla are unanimously described as a fine race, distinguished by intense love of freedom and self-government. Such is the horror of captivity and a foreign yoke that those who have failed to maintain independence are no longer considered Humas. These characteristics must ultimately work for the advantage of the missionary in Abyssinia, Galla and Uganda.

At the bottom of the scale as native factors in the future development of Africa stand the Shemitic races. These comprise the Abyssinian and the Arab.

Except Israel no Shemitic state has bestowed lasting advantage on Africa. Even Ethiopia proper (Abyssinia) hardly forms an exception. To-day Protestant and Roman endeavors to evangelize Abyssinia itself are so

fruitless, that its people and religion could not rightly be included in the present discussion of the actual spheres of African missions were it not for their Christian and historic significance and its bearing on the future. The Abyssinians and Kopts alone among African peoples have retained the faith of Christendom. Moreover, Abyssinia is the chief existent state of tropical Africa that has been a historic force. Its Christian past is a search-light, discouraging and encouraging in equal measure. Its Christian barbarians, the only ones in the world, tower up, like their own inaccessible fastnesses and heights, as instances of the ruin wrought by ecclesiasticism, especially by ultramontanism. They also demonstrate that fellowship and friendly competition with the commonwealth of nations are indispensable to progress and the perpetuity of true civilization. Against these sad facts must be set the solid reality that Christianity — even in tropical Africa, even alone and single-handed, even with all odds against it — can wear out Islam. Before the renewal of relations with Christendom (*c.* 1450) Ethiopia had played the missionary among the pagan Galla. Though Islam made proselytes among these, the increasing influence of the Shoan sovereign since 1875, (when the annihilation of the khedive's armies initiated the fall of Egypt), revived Christianity through the uplands and led several Galla tribes to accept it again. Yet Koptic Christianity, rather than be reconciled to the Greek communion, betrayed itself to Islam. The Nubian church, after seven centuries of struggle against the Muslim, accepted Arabia's creed rather than join the Byzantine faith*. But Abyssinian Christianity resisted so long, so vigorously, that it was not before 1850 that Muhammadanism gained acceptance inside the

*Harris, *Ethiopia*, vol. 3, p. 68; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, vol. 2, pp. 312, 333.

nation itself. The Musulmans formed but a third, possibly less, of the population, and the fundamental law prevented them from acquiring political power. The reaction of religion and patriotism against Egypt's attempted invasion (1872) resulted in final defeat for Islam.

Ethiopic Christianity, even as the faith of men of Arab blood, a blood adulterated by a Hamitic strain inherited from the aborigines, and even when cut off from vital Christianity, retained life enough to do what cost Latin and Teutonic Christendom centuries to accomplish. No Abyssinian Christian may deal in slaves, the former traffic being carried on by Musulmans. Slavery affects the blacks alone, who constitute but a small portion of the population. The Islamites' compulsory conformity with Christianity ended their slave-trade. Yet mere freedom from traffic in human flesh is not the only honor of Shemitic Christianity in Africa. The condition of its bondman surpasses that of the former American slave and Russian serf. The master can be put to death for attempting to sell the chattel, and has no right of capital punishment. After several years of serfage the slave usually receives freedom, money and tools, and emancipation increases the former master's importance. Does Islam's attitude toward slavery and the slave-traffic equal that of Abyssinian Christianity?

Abyssinia's ultimate destiny forms one of the most perplexing among African problems, but in 1845 Harris uttered these words of hope: "The small portion of good may be ascribed to the remains of the wreck of Christianity not yet wholly overwhelmed. Under proper government and influence Habesh might promote the amelioration of the surrounding people". This fore-

cast receives confirmation from history. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese founded military and religious establishments in Abyssinia. European connections might have been cemented and western civilization introduced, had not the missionaries been expelled for aspiring to political power. Between 1830 and 1865 Theodore attempted to put Abyssinia into the path of progress. Had he been seconded by Britain, a base for operations in East Sudan and thence toward Equatoria could have been gained. Probably Britain will yet accomplish something through Egypt toward bringing Abyssinia into line.* Providence reserves Abyssinia for some great purpose.

The Arab, always and everywhere, has been and is the disturbing element. But for him there would be no Sudanese problem, little fanaticism, few slave-traders and fewer "Messiahs". Islam swept away almost every trace of previous religions and civilizations. Europe stands in debt to the Saracen; but Africa owes next to nothing to Arabia. The Muslim did not even introduce the camel. This existed in Egypt twenty-five centuries before Islam's coming. The Pharaoh gave camels to Abraham. They are explicitly specified among the Egyptian cattle perishing in the plagues. They were used in Cyrenaica at least two hundred and fifty years earlier than Amru's conquest†. The Bedawin, remarkably unconstructive, established their theocratic civilization by effacing its predecessor. Is it credible that such people gave civilization to Sudan? Is it not more likely that the Negro, as evidenced by his independent

*Date of prediction: 1896; date of realization: 1898. Now Abyssinia is fain to seize Gallaland and Somalia; and Britain, it is asserted, has agreed to yield more than half her territory on the Gulf of Aden.

†*Cf.* Hehn, *Wanderings of Plants and Animals;* Cook, *Bible Commentary*, vol. I, part I, p. 283; Chabas, *Etudes*, pp. 400-413; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 493; and Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 32.

achievement even when isolated, originated Sudanese culture?

Except among the Fellahin or peasantry of Egypt, who, though half Shemitic from the mixture of Arab blood for twelve centuries, retain the industry of their Hamitic forefathers, and some Moors of the Berber states, the Arab is fairly exemplified by the Sudanese and the Zanzibari. Bigoted and ignorant, fanatical and insolent, the Sudanese Arabs were described by Stewart as "for the most part wanderers, each within well-known limits. All are large owners of camels, cattle, horses and slaves. The last and the women cultivate durra, sufficient for the wants of the tribe. The Arab himself would consider it a disgrace to labor. He is essentially a hunter, robber and warrior, and after caring for his cattle devotes his energies to slave-hunting and war". Twelve of these tribes are numerous and powerful. They influence the surrounding populations, and often before the Mahdist uprising of 1884 defied the authority of Baker, Gordon and their successors, or compelled the acceptance of conditions. Slavery is vital to them, and the institution will survive the suppressal of their slave-trade.

Credit may be cheerfully rendered to the Arab for his application of hydraulics to Egypt and North Africa, where ample traces of canals, reservoirs, sluices, water-works and wells remain; but Muslim governments ill maintained them. If in tropical Africa Arabs bestowed a few grains and Islam on some of the natives, whatever advantage they may have conferred has been vastly outweighed by their unutterable slave-trade. Though they stand acquit of originating Negro slavery and traffic in black men, they established both as institutions almost indispensable to their system. The Christian slave-trade

perhaps cost as many lives in the last four centuries as the Muslim one in twice that time; but anarchy in the state, despotism in religion and slavery in society are the gifts of the Arab to Africa. Ishmael has been a wild man, his hand against every man and every man's therefore against him. Abraham has become Africa's blessing, but Ishmael her bane and Muhammad her murderer.

Yet Islam gives institutions and religion to 160,000,000 souls, one ninth of our race*. This stupendous fact possesses immense significance. The Arab, thanks to our partition of Africa, has ceased to be a formative factor in shaping her future; but his language and religion have not lost all power in Mediterranean, Saharan and Sudanese Africa or in Zanzibari areas of influence. To assert in gross that the language makes itself felt in one half, the religion in two thirds, of the continent would not be without excuse, for such on the face of it is the appearance of affairs. The Arab has the forceful qualities of the pioneer: fixity of purpose, personal courage, rare contempt of death and wonderful endurance of privation; and when inspired by a purer faith and officered by wise and upright Europeans, he may render yeoman service as a colonist in developing the industrial resources of Africa. He of course is the predestined servant for Christianity among the Muslims, but through his language and his kinship with the Bantu, the Berber and the Negro the Christianized Arab can be also made an effective ally of the missionary to the Hamitic and Nigritic Africans. Possibly his African future may redeem his past.

Arabic is a masterful and rich language. Muhammad's choice of the Meccan dialect made it classic, and the composition of the Quran in this bestowed sacred-

*Arnold (*Preaching of Islam*, p. 1) says 173,000,000. Others even claim 206,000,000.

ness on it. It has remained a literary language, yet become an African vernacular. Here its dialectic variations are comparatively few and slight, it being spoken in Egypt with purity. Everywhere its elegance, facile grace and plasticity make it an ideal speech for the masses. Its copiousness, flexibility and simplicity fit it for every purpose of commerce, correspondence and theology. The Quran and the Quranic literature of African Muslims, though of little value for thinkers, are not inconsiderable in bulk, and have accomplished something for the Negro intellect. It therefore is a matter of moment that a language of such character, compass and power, influencing forty million Africans, has naturalized itself. Against Islam's Quran, never translated by orthodox Muslims from its native Arabic but despotically compelling all to learn the language of Muhammad, must be set the Christian Scriptures translated into a thousand tongues. Arabic while one with Islam is incapable of Pentecost.

The merest sketch must suffice for the historical setting of modern African missions. Its main features comprise colonization and commerce on the coast, with their corollaries of the slave-trade and the liquor-traffic; the coming of the missionary and of the traveler into the unknown interior; and the partition of Africa among European powers.

Portugal and Turkey were in 1520 the African representatives of European powers. The Lusitanian was mistress of all coasts except those of the Mediterranean and Red Seas; the Osmanli held Algeria and Egypt. In developing their respective spheres the Christian and the Islamite proved of equal value. In 1735, when the first Protestant missionary started for Africa, the balance of power had shifted. The chief European powers acquired

holdings as early as 1700, Germany being there from 1681 to 1720. Portugal was all but ousted from Guinea. After 1730 the Omanese Arabs dispossessed her from Zanguebar. Turkey lost her grip on Algeria, Tripoli and Tunis; but Barbary, whether Ottoman pashalik or independent, remained the scourge of Christendom till 1815. Holland settled at the Cape in 1652, professing that "they were called to propagate Christian doctrine among the inhabitants". Something was accomplished toward developing the country, but fiendish cruelties were inflicted on the natives. From Arguin on the Saharan shore to Sao Paulo in Angola, four thousand miles along the coast, extended forty-three trading-posts, — the feeblest rush-lights that ever flickered against the blackness of pagan barbarism. Islam dominated the north above the tenth parallel. The lost churches of Abyssinia and Egypt slept in living death. Paganism overspread the rest of Africa, except where nominal Christianity or nominal Islam touched the coast. Africa was a land of death-shades, her sole light these broken gleams at the sea-board. Darkness covered the earth, gross darkness the peoples.

Until 1815 Africa received little attention, except at Cape Colony and Egypt, though the coastal forts constantly changed hands. Nevertheless, the seemingly stagnant eighteenth century evolved several germinal principles that produce fruitage in our time. From 1520 to 1737 papal powers had held the headship of Europe. French, Italians, Portuguese and Spaniards were the missionaries to Africa. Now Protestant states began to rise toward the supremacy. From 1792 to 1890, Germans, Englishmen, Scots, Americans, Huguenots, hardy Norsemen, Netherlanders, Swedes, Finns, Waldensians and even Boers came successively to carry vital

Christianity into the African continent. Through the great eighteenth century Rome and the Jesuit kept falling from the level to which Loyola had lifted them; but step by step with these changes in church and state went a spiritual preparation, ultimately universal, for Protestant evangelization. As a result of the religious renascence within Protestantism philanthropy awoke. Humanitarian thought, from the early years of the century, took ground more and more against the slave-trade. Denmark became the first state to ban it to her people, the Friends the first religious society to banish slave-traders from their fellowship. Denmark also founded farms to teach Africans agriculture. Sweden originated the principle of colonization with the purpose of improving Africa and its inhabitants. Still another force in modern missions came into play. In 1768 Bruce explored Abyssinia, and awakened science to an interest in Africa. Egypt revolted from Turkey, thus facing from the past to the future, and her Napoleon was born in Albania*. The African Association of England followed Bruce in 1788. Another English company, the year before, established a settlement of freed slaves at Sierra Leone. In 1798 Napoleon seized Egypt, making it for the first time in five centuries a sphere of European interests. Mehemet Ali, its ruler (1811-48), became the first Muslim potentate to appropriate European civilization†.

Byron branded Italy as the Niobe of nations. The epithet would more justly stigmatize the pariah continent of Africa. Slavery and the slave-trade have accomplished more than all other causes toward making her an outcast. Negroes originated the slavery of the Negro and the traffic in black men. Berber, Cartha-

*Was Mehemet Ali a Greek or a Turk? The point is important.

†The encampment of the Ottoman on Greco-Roman ruins after 1452 hardly forms an exception.

ginian, Greek, Himyarite, Phenician and Roman followed the precedent. Medieval Arabs developed and established the double evil as an institution. The Malay and Polynesian in Madagascar shared the guilt. Europe improved Negro slavery and the slave-trade beyond utterance. America grew through the unrequited blood and sweat of the black bondman. The unspeakable Turk, the Sudanese and the Zanzibari as late as the nineteenth Christian century made the traffic "the open sore of the world". From the remotest times a stream of black blood has flowed *via* the Indian Ocean to Arabia, India, Madagascar and Persia; down the Nile to Egypt and western Asia; across Sahara to other Mediterranean lands; and for four centuries over the Atlantic. Not races merely but religions have participated. Paganism, Islam and Christianity have had complicity in degrading men and women from beings in the likeness of God to chattels without souls. Islam sanctions this ruin of human nature. Christianity did not finally free itself from the sin, (though the British Anti-Slavery Society organized in 1787 and the British empire emancipated its slaves in 1833 at a cost of $100,000,000), until America abolished slavery, papal Brazil (1888) following the Protestant United States (1863)*. The marvel is not that Africa has made so little advance but that she has accomplished so much. The miracle has been that missions among Africans did not become utter failures. Until the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade the day of modern missions in Africa had but dawned. The divine origin of Christianity has seldom received more emphatic vindication through its historical effects than in its final triumph over its nominal representatives among Africans. Its African successes

*The British attorney-general is authority for the statement that "slavery has a legal status in the empire, that 200,000 subjects are plantation-slaves and that fugitive slaves are hunted down and handed over by British officers". (Curzon to the Commons, June 26, 1897).

despite slavery and the slaver show what it may achieve in a free field.

Slavery and the trade, though stones of offense, were made stepping-stones for missions. They formed the chief source of Europe's interest in Africa. They led the united states of Europe to their first joint action since the crusades in relation to Africa. The Vienna congress of 1815 declared the slave-trade repugnant to humanity and abolition most desirable. Since 1792 the majority of the powers, the United States of America first, had followed Denmark in forbidding the trade to their subjects, and in 1817 slavers were declared pirates. Seventy years later (1884-85) anxiety to promote the welfare of the Negro was announced as one of the motives for the Berlin conference. Europe and America undertook to employ every means to end the inland slave-trade. Muhammadan states for the first time in history participated with Christian powers in an enterprise of philanthropy. Their presence recalls the homely rhyme that "when the devil was *sick*, the devil a monk would be", for the sincere endeavors of Egyptian and Zanzibari rulers of Islamry were inspired by European influences. Though Christendom succeeded between 1817 and 1877 in ending the export of slaves to America and in hampering that to the orient, the inland traffic grew worse. From 1875 to 1890 Africa lost sometimes five hundred thousand, sometimes one million inhabitants annually. In 1890 America, Europe, Persia and Zanzibar "in the name of God" confessed that the European powers were morally accountable for the devastation, and resolved at Brussels to secure peace for Africa, to complete such slight results as they had already obtained since 1885 and to guarantee the extermination of the traffic. Belgium has since accomplished something,

Britain a little, the others less toward the redemption of their pledges for their respective realms.

The slave and the slaver were among the providential agencies that prepared America to participate in the redemption of Africans. Their presence led to the Christianization and civilization of the twenty millions of Negroes in North and South America to-day, or five million more than the population of Belgian Kongo. Britain's persistence in thrusting the slave-trade on her American colonies was one of the causes that lost her the United States. Slavery for Africa had culminated in slavery for Americans. Freedom in America implied freedom for Africa and the Negro.

Xerxes led four million Asiatics and Africans into Hellas. The crusades enlisted six million people against Africa and Asia. Ten million Negroes were surrendered by Africa to America and Europe after 1393, while the Arabs and other Muhammadans or pagans sent countless millions to slavery at home or abroad or to the shambles. It would seem impossible that any other woe, much less any equal evil, could be inflicted. Yet the devil's-mission has been surpassed. Burton, a hard-headed man of the world, acquainted with Africa within and without, said in 1863: "Rum and spirits, arms and ammunition are a serious injury to the west coast, and present a sad contrast between the commerce of Christian merchants and that of the eastern shores". In 1883 he added: "If slave-trade with all its horrors were revived *and* Africa could get rid of the white man with his gun-powder and rum, she would gain in happiness". This testimony has been a thousand times confirmed; nor merely by "prejudiced" [?] missionaries but by administrators, explorers, merchants. It proves the liquor-traffic the cruelest curse yet inflicted on many

sections. It is depopulating considerable areas, checking the development of their resources, ruining commerce there and rendering civilization a chimera. Where the drink-habit dominates, it makes mission-work nugatory. The soul shrinks in agony and shame from delineating Christendom's new sin against Africa. Islam, wherever it crosses arms with Christianity, enjoys an immeasurable advantage through its greater abstinence and especially through its comparative freedom from distilling and selling spirits. Nothing can end the Americo-European liquor-traffic except the revival of the Puritan conscience and the application of the golden rule. At the Berlin conference America, Britain, France, Italy and Leopold endeavored to dam drink from inner Africa, but Germany, Holland and Portugal insisted on free rum in the Kongo *basin**. At Brussels five years later a world's congress attempted as strenuously to choke the rum-trade as to throttle slaving. But the powers merely adopted measures of nominal restriction. Africa between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans and from 20° N. to 22° S., including islands for one hundred sea-miles east and west, is the greatest area in the world protected against the rum-seller — on paper. In practice the enactment remains almost universally without enforcement. Though British chartered companies have in several great regions accomplished considerable for prohibition, the Brussels principles are giants asleep†.

During our century Muslim or pagan powers arose in Ashanti, Dahome, Kazembe, Lunda, Muata-Yanvo, Sahara, Senegambia, Sudan, Tabililand, Uganda, Upper

*The Dutch explanation fails to bear scrutiny.

†See *The Missionary Review of the World* for June, 1894 (vol. 7, no. 6, p. 412) and *The Nineteenth Century* for November, 1897, for details as to the trade. Lugard declares the traffic an unmitigated curse.

Zambezia, Zanguebar and Zululand. These aided the development of Africa, influenced its relations with Europe and participated in preparing it for missions. Of the thirteen native states only three were not Negro powers, only four were not pagan. These (omitting the Mahdists) were the Arabs of Senusi and from Zanzibar and the Fulah of Senegambia and West Sudan. The Fulah and the Zanzibari have become quite Nigritic, and the ruling native race of Central and East Sudan belongs to the Negro. The black man instead of the Arab and the Berber has enabled Europe, seconded by America, to open Africa*.

Nevertheless, America struck the first blow toward regaining the lost continent. Haiti and her Negro citizens had helped the United States to gain independence, and had afterward won their own single-handed (1791-1803). Napoleon, enslaver of the Negro even more than of other men, failed signally in Haiti, and revenged himself by the inhuman imprisonment of L'Ouverture. Jefferson compelled Tripoli to quit her piracies and tribute-levies against America (1801-1805). Madison protected our shipping with equal effectiveness against Algiers (1815). Britain and France in 1816 and 1830 merely followed America. In 1801 Britain entered Egypt, formally becoming the final owner of Cape Colony in 1815. Her African career now began, and at the most important parts of the continent. France subdued Algeria (1830-70); extended her influence in Egypt, Gabun and Senegambia; and strove to replace her lost American and Hindi realms by an African empire. Egypt, acquiring virtual independence, successively an-

*Speke, 1855, said: "The freed Negro contributed more than any one else to open Africa". It is a source of regret to the present writer that the Procrustean lack of space prevents him from doing justice to the brawn and faithfulness of the Africans who in exploring and other enterprises have enabled brave and brainy white men to develop Africa. He hopes that some American Negro will work out this thesis.

nexed Nubia, Senaar, Kordo, Fur and the Nile basin as far south as Lake Albert. The Suez Canal (1869) enhanced the worth of Egypt; heightened the Anglo-French rivalry; and increased the commercial value of the Red Sea as much as it lessened the route around South Africa. But the discovery of diamonds (1867) restored a balance in economic advantages. Zanguebar until 1884 remained a self-governing sultanate, its sovereign ruling in 1861 from Mukhdisho to Cape Delgado and his influence extending to Lake Tanganika, five hundred miles west. British influence was supreme, British subjects among Zanzibari slave-dealers. In Austral Africa the British and the Dutch, the Europeans and the natives clashed continually, Orange Free State and Transvaal (1833-37) being the result of Britain's emancipating the slaves, and Cape Colony and Natal suffering from Kafir-Zulu wars. The Boers have always refused equality and justice to black men. In West Africa civilization accomplished almost nothing. After the blockade between the Kongo and Senegal rivers ended the Atlantic slave-trade, Europe lost interest in Guinea. English expeditions to develop the Niger ended in its virtual abandonment until 1884. The American anti-slavery agitation occasioned the foundation of Liberia (1820) through the settlement of freedmen. Its success, though of the slightest, is greater than could reasonably have been expected with people utterly unfit for colonization. Sierra Leone has been still less successful. Meanwhile the American slave-holders' rebellion had abolished slavery, emancipations in 1863 and 1888 matching the settlement of the Nile problem and the opening of the Kongo.

So far the preparation for missions had been mainly the achievement of the explorer. The statesman had

taken part when urged by the humanitarian or the merchant. In 1788 acquaintance with inner Africa, despite the travels of the Portuguese far inland during the sixteenth century, was enjoyed only in Barbary, Egypt, the lower Zambezi valley, Cape Colony, Lower Guinea, the Gold and Slave Coasts and Senegambia. Everywhere else knowledge was restricted to the coast. Intelligent men actually asserted that "Africa stood alone in a geographical view. Penetrated by no inland seas; nor overspread with extensive lakes; nor having rivers from the center to the extremities, its regions are separated by deserts of so formidable extent as to threaten travelers with the most horrible of deaths". In 1845 knowledge was almost exclusively still confined to the littoral. Six years later Central Africa and South Africa beyond the coastal girdle remained all but absolutely blank. So late, so slow was Europe's recovery of Africa!

Between 1788 and 1830 the Niger was the main object of attention. The question as to its course and source, which had awakened inquiry since 1618 if not 1450, received solution and led to exploration in Sahara and Sudan. Between 1830 and 1850 tedious progress was made in the Nile territories and South Africa. The decades from 1849 to 1889 secured substantially the secrets of the Nile, and revealed Africa from Kalahari to Sahara. The exploration of the Kongo (1862-77) and its basin linked that of the Nile and the Zambezi; displayed the broad contours of three drainage-areas and river-systems; and left nothing since 1889 but detailed or minor discoveries to be made outside three considerable regions.

When Stanley, then an American citizen, left Zanzibar in 1875 and Leopold in 1876 convened a conference at

Brussels to plan for exploration and the suppressal of slaving, Africa was chiefly a geographical problem. Belgium, Germany and Italy had not arrived. Britain had rejected political opportunity after opportunity. Portugal and Turkey were African ciphers. Yet annexation was in the air. Protestantism had through America, Britain and Germany become the leader and ruler of civilization*. Europe had within recent years severely felt the need for new markets. Commercial rivalry between the powers increased immensely. The necessity for new fields of industrial enterprise was irresistibly forced on commerce. America, Australia and the orient were glutted. Africa was the sole region available for extended operations. Dreams of national expansion beyond the seas became a craze with Belgians, Germans and Italians as they had long been with the French, Portuguese and Spaniards. An instinct of nationality and universal empire awoke in Austral Africa. Widespread interest had been growing among Americans and Europeans. Livingstone rendered this interest general. From 1850 it increased. His death turned exploration into a crusade. His prayer summoned the world to save Africa. Lavigerie at last roused the Roman church to its duty toward African peoples, at last stung the conscience of papal Europe to action against the slaver. Stanley's achievement in 1871, 1875-77 and 1879-84 riveted the eye and the hand of the world on the African continent and its peoples. Europe flung itself upon Africa. During four centuries it had stolen Africans thence. In fourteen years (1876-90) it stole Africa from the Africans, only such regions remaining unappropriated as were unavailable. The partition of Africa and its annexation to alien powers began with the founding of

*Greco-Slavic Christianity has through Russia become its rival since, even in Africa.

Utica by the Phenicians three thousand years ago. The consummation of this through the nominal reduction of Africa to a European appanage occurs to-day.

Stanley the Welshman, Leopold the Franco-German Belgian, Bismarck the Teuton and Rhodes the Englishman are the prime movers in this political process. Belgian Kongo; German East Africa and Kamerun; British Egypt, Ibea, Sudan and Uganda; French lordship from the Mediterranean to Lake Chad, from the Atlantic to Timbuktu and from Guinea toward Gazelle River; and British South Africa practically one and self-governing — these comprise the results. The revolt of Egyptian Sudan; the fall of all Negro states outside Sudan; the international conferences at Berlin, Brussels and Chicago; the wordy wars of diplomats and delimitation commissions; endeavors to colonize new acquisitions or to improve them; constant clashing if not bloodshed at every contact of barbarism and civilization; and the expansion of British Austral Africa from Lake Ngami to Lake Tanganika form the more epochal events. A few have made to the advantage of missions, but more have worked to their temporary disadvantage.

There is general agreement that at present European influence as a whole is more hurtful than helpful. Cust presents the religious view of the question; *The Sun* stands as spokesman for the secular side of life; and yet the two are at one in their condemnation of prevalent European practices against the tropical African. Of the Berlin conference Cust wrote: "In dealing with the natives the principles of common Christianity and respect for national feeling entirely disappeared from the vision of statesmen. They looked only to selfish interests and from the narrowest point of view. The only hope of amelioration for the unhappy peoples lies with the Chris-

tian missionary". Keltie, as historian and scientist, confirms this accusation, saying: "By 1885 all consideration for native rights had disappeared". On this contention the case might go to the jury; but we want the judgment of a journal never accused of mixing piety with politics or of thinking that religion should inspire statesmanship. *The Sun* has uttered this confession: "Very little is written about the criminal outrages inflicted on Africans by white agents of European governments or commerce. Often the victims of terrible cruelty and injustice, these natives have no means of appealing to our humanity . . . Deeds are done by white men that would put an Apache to shame . . . Men are placed in charge of important enterprises who can not pass through any district without devastating it . . . Might makes right is the principle of action . . . There are far too many who think their advent loosens every restraint, and opens wide the doors of license. There are men in official position who bargain with chiefs for the young women who form part of their establishments. The fact that one brutal man often combines the functions of judge, jury and executioner is a prolific source of frightful injustice . . . For slight infringements of regulations large towns have been burned, their chiefs killed, and women and children have not escaped the rain of bullets. Men and women trying stealthily to recover food stolen from their plantations have been shot for their heinous offense. Women have been seized and held as prisoners until ransomed with supplies not otherwise purchased. Expeditions have needlessly passed through regions where crops have been a partial failure and have ravaged the plantations, though the natives did not have enough for themselves. At least in one instance an act of cannibalism and murder has

been paid for that a spectacle might be afforded. 'I started from the coast', wrote Dr. Peters, 'without articles of exchange, and could not pay my way nor give presents to native chiefs as other travelers had done'. He did, however, have plenty of guns and ammunition; and wherever the natives did not permit him without protest to rob them of grain and cattle, he murdered them and took their property. We have barely alluded to these phases of brutality and crime, but they are all matters of record and susceptible of the clearest proof. They form with the murderous rum-traffic the black side of white enterprise. The truth has been often suppressed, but should receive the widest publicity. Public sentiment . . . if nothing else should compel governments and trading-companies to face more seriously their responsibility for the acts of their agent ".

III

Religious Forces and Spiritual Environments

Christianity in Abyssinia and Egypt is a survival of the ancient world. Islam is medieval Africa petrified. Portuguese missions constituted a link in the chain of historical continuity from ancient to modern African Christianity. Their medieval associations with the Ethiopic church merged into modern missions in East and West Africa. Paganism, though antedating the entrance of Christianity and perhaps destined to outlive Islam, binds the past to the future and is the problem of the present. Native Christianity, Muhammadanism and Negro religions must therefore be treated in their logical order rather than in the sequence of time.

Two isolated fragments of ancient Christendom emerge in Egypt and Ethiopia from Islamry and heath-

endom. These lost churches, now heretical sects, were national churches protesting against the innovations of Constantinople and clinging with desperate fidelity to older doctrines and forms. Most eastern of churches in custom and thought, the wild and romantic interest of their habitat and habits supplies the almost total want of historic events. The characteristic fable of Prester John, the invisible apostle, the imperial priest, fills the vacant space in their tradition that the Byzantine emperor and the Roman pope occupied in Europe. Both protest against the heterodoxy of other Christian churches. But Egypt's church is much more than the relic of an ancient sect. It is the most remarkable monument of Christian antiquity. It is the only living representative of the most venerable nation of antiquity. Within its membership of eight hundred thousand souls have shrunk the learning and the lineage of old Egypt. Koptic, though understood neither by people nor priest, is the speech of the Pharaohs. The Kopts, even in degradation, were in 1850 the most civilized Egyptians. The Fellahin, though originally of the same race, were never brought under Christian influences, and have consequently never become so intelligent. Nevertheless, not all Kopts remained in the Alexandrine church, for a few became proselytes to the Roman communion and constitute the Catholic or United Kopts, while a very few returned to fellowship with the Greek church and are Orthodox Kopts. The Egyptian church has always differentiated the bishops from the patriarch. He alone can ordain, they being merely his vicars. The Kopt confers ordination not by laying hands on the candidate but by breathing upon him. The Koptic church is the only one that succeeded in preventing the removal of bishops, and preserves the most rigid form of the nomi-

nee's reluctance to be made a patriarch. In its belief that Jesus was not man but God, His divine and human nature being blended into one by the incarnation; in the universal kiss among the members of the congregation; in the prominence of children, who act as deacons; in the union of social intercourse with worship; and in the turbaned head and unshod feet the Alexandrine church breathes an oriental and primitive atmosphere shared only by Abyssinia.

Gobat considered that Ethiopic Christianity retains enough Christianity to be still called a Christian faith. Since it shows the utmost amount of superstition that can overwhelm a church without killing it, Gobat's charitable judgment may stand. But acceptance of this view strains our idea of Christianity and the church almost to breaking. Whatever of Egyptian and Jewish ritual the Kopts preserve, the Abyssinians carry to excess. An ark of Zion is the center of devotion in their every church. On it depends the sanctity of the edifice. Circumcision is of equal necessity with baptism. The Abyssinian is a truer Sabbatarian than the Seventh-Day Baptist. He observes the Jewish Sabbath as well as the Christian Sunday. With the Mormon or Latter-Day Saint he clings to polygamy. Whatever of extravagant ritualism, excessive dogmatism and fatal divorce between ethics and religion disfigures oriental Christianity reveals itself most hideously in Abyssinia.

Missionaries, in consequence of the variant meanings of terms, have frequently been able to explain that there was no essential difference between the Abyssinian belief and the faith they would introduce. Rome found common ground in the Ethiopic worship of Mary, the veneration of images, intercession by saints, purgatory, indulgences, fasts and beggar-monks. Protestantism

shares the Abyssinian denial of papal supremacy and the right of every Christian to possess and read the Scriptures in the vernacular. But Abyssinian intolerance in dogma results in indifference to character and conduct. The lack of toleration for missionaries originated not from jealousy of their polity but from suspicion of their policy. The Abyssinians would readily allow foreign Christians to build churches beside Ethiopic ones, but they fear conversion as the forerunner of conquest. Theodore said: "Missionaries will be welcome on condition that my subjects do not say 'I am a Frenchman because a Catholic' or 'I am an Englishman because a Protestant' "; and often expressed this sentiment: "First the missionaries, then the consuls, then the soldiers".

Missions are the dynamics of a religion. Muhammadan missions measure the expansive energy of Islam. As this force has already been gauged, we turn to the statics of the Muslim faith. What is its belief, what its content?

The truth of Muhammad lay in a sacred book. The Quran is the foundation of Islam. The book of Arabia is to all Islamry what the Pentateuch was to Israel. It contains all of Musulman law, morality and religion. It influences all of life in a way not shared by the Scriptures. It has been the source not only of thousands of commentaries but of other Quranic literature. It is believed to have been immanent in Allah, and hence eternal and uncreate, while the theory of its inspiration is that Allah himself provided the very words. Muhammad was merely a pen-man transcribing the divine original. Such a thought leaves no place for man except as a machine. The fount of Islam is the source of enslavement for heart and mind and spirit. This mischief is

augmented by regarding its purity of style as too divine for translation. Unless a version unite paraphrase with translation, it is impious. Ibn Khaldun (1375) stated that a Maroccan translation into Berber was destroyed in order to prevent man from subjecting the word of Allah to criticism and interpretation.

Many passages speak of the greatness, goodness or righteousness of God, manifested in history, nature and prophetic revelation, especially through Muhammad. Service to Allah consists of temperance, serious life, prayer and alms. In the oldest passages monotheism is positive and practical, the Meccan teaching being the sheerest commonplace of morality and religion. Deification of created beings; worship of Jesus as Son of God; and idolatry are unsparingly condemned. Islam abhors idolatry even more than did the Byzantine image-breakers and the Puritan wreckers of cathedrals. Heaven, hell and the terrors of the judgment are pictured with literal and sensuous vividness. For believers the Quran gives moral instruction and specific directions. The conditions under which a man may remain a sinner, yet be a good Muslim sure of Paradise, are faith in Allah's absolute sovereignty and the performance of good works. To unbelievers the Quran holds truth forth, demonstration predominating. Lukewarm religionists are rebuked; enemies threatened with terrible punishment. Outside of Islam is neither law nor safety, Allah protecting only those who acknowledge His supremacy.

Stark poverty in thought and spirituality characterizes both Muhammad's creed and orthodox Islam. These comprise five precepts: confession of the unity of God; prayer at stated times; alms-giving; fasting through the month of Ramazan; and pilgrimage to

Mecca. Its idea of Allah has been already presented, and requires no mention except to state that Muhammad finally discarded the thought and title of "the merciful one" for "the mighty one". The pearl of the Quran is this Islamic Lord's Prayer: "In the name of God the compassionate compassioner, praise to God, lord of worlds, compassionate compassioner, sovereign of the day of judgment. Thee we worship, of Thee beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, the way of those to whom Thou hast been gracious, on whom is no wrath, who go not astray". But Palgrave demonstrated Islam to be a pantheism of brute force, an almighty fiend being the only real agent in the universe; and a common prayer of Egyptian Muslims runs thus: "O God, destroy the infidels and the polytheists, Thine enemies, Islam's enemies. Make their children orphans. Defile their abodes. Cause their feet to slip. Give them and their families, children, possessions, race, wealth and land as loot for the Muslims".

The Quran regards Jesus as sinless. Vague passages also seem to accord with the idea of His second coming. When theologians began to systematize Tradition, some spoke of Christ's return, others referred to a *mahdi*, "the well-guided one". This idea of a Muhammadan "Messiah" originated about A. D. 750, and the most famous of the many impersonators was Obeid, the first Fatimite khalif of North Africa (909-934). The Shiite or heterodox Muslims projected Islam's "Messiah" far into the future, making his appearance a sign of the end of the world. Some Sunnite or orthodox Musulmans, among whom in name may be classed African Islamites, borrowed the Christian hope of the second advent. Modern Muhammadans, to reconcile the decay of Islam and the prosperity of Christianity with their hatred of the

adherents of other religions as despicable children of hell and enemies of true religion, take refuge in the belief that one divinely guided is to restore Islam. Their theologians so confuse the Christian and the Islamic idea that orthodox Islamites believe that when unrighteousness reaches its height and the victory of their opponents seems sure, Islam's "Messiah" shall destroy all infidels and establish Allah's kingdom. Afterward Anti-Christ shall work new mischief, only to be destroyed by Jesus, whose appearance heralds the final judgment when He shall judge even Muhammad. The "Messiah" can be expected only at the ends of centuries; but opinion as to other details remains so unsettled that the death of the Sudanese "Messiah", who had availed himself of the widespread belief by coming forward in the thirteen hundredth (Muhammadan) year, did not seriously impair the effect of his success. The existence of a Senusi "Messiah" as well as of a new Sudanese Mahdi shows that the belief has yet a part to play.

The Sunnites accept orthodox tradition as a source with the Quran for dogma and law, but divide in Africa into four sects. Such divisions of the Roman church as Gallican and Ultramontane, such branches of the Protestant church as Congregationalists and Presbyterians afford an analogy to the Hanafi, Hanbali, Malaki and Shafi sectarians. Their differences relate chiefly to ceremonial details. Though priesthood as a hereditary or sacrificial order does not exist, Islam is the one "civilized" religion that retains the ancient and veritable sacrifice; and it possesses a hierarchy even more powerful than that of Christianity. To know the Book and the Tradition there must be theologians. These consist of *ulema*, the scribes — and Pharisees — of Islam. Their head, an ecclesiastic at Constantinople, unites the

functions of an English chancellor and primate, and was till 1850 as considerable a personage as any cardinal or patriarch. The Cairene administrator of the property of the mosques stood as high as the Anglican dean, the Greek archimandrite, the Roman abbot. The dervishes and muftis are as formidable as the medieval monks, the former being the friars of Islam. The *imams* enjoy little social importance. They recite public prayers in the mosques, and on Friday, the Muslim Sunday, must invoke blessings on the khalif. The *muezzin* from the minaret calls to prayer. The clergy (*ulema*) constitute a close corporation; but this established clergy and bar does not enjoy undivided power. Islam had to accommodate itself to mystic tendencies and to a disposition toward asceticism and monasticism. It imitated the Christian anchorite; hence its orders and saints. The dervish is a member of an order following special rules; and the white tombs of saints form a feature of Muslim landscapes. The degradation, jealousies and superstitions of medieval Christianity duplicate themselves among the Muslim institutions of to-day. Legality, literalness, localism and ceremony are carried to a pitch beyond the Greek and Roman churches. Prayer is as mechanical as the prayer-wheels of Tibet. Morality stands even further from religion than in the oriental churches, though Koptic drunkenness presents a horrible contrast to the relative abstinence of Muslims, for the solicitude of Muhammad for concubinage and polygamy has always scandalized pious Musulmans, and many Hamitic and Negro peoples have repudiated his provisions. "As a social system", Lane-Poole confesses, "Islam is a failure . . . The fatal spot is the degradation of woman". It is in the lower classes of Egypt that the brighter side of Islam must be sought,

for the peasantry are comparatively decent folk, and Marocco and Sudan regard Egyptians as infidels. The sole survivor of the great schools of medieval Islamry is Cairo University (*Al Azhar*), cited by Blyden as a nursery of thousands of Muslim missionaries; but as no word for missionary occurs in the Quran and Haig assures us that the school sends out next to no missionaries, Christianity need feel no anxiety from this source*.

"Never was there", Plutarch wrote, "never shall there be any city without temple, church or chapel. A man should sooner find a city built in air, without ground, than that any commonwealth should be established altogether void of religion, or preserved and maintained in that estate. This is that containeth and holdeth together all human society; this is the foundation, stay and prop of all".

The Negro verifies this intuitive conviction. This is one of the values of Negro paganism. It confirms the definition of man as a religious animal. Though black agnostics and atheists are not unknown, no race has been discovered without spiritual ideas. To say that a tribe possesses no thought of God is to accuse oneself of incompetence to recognize it. The Negro contributed fetichist elements to the ancient religion of Egypt, but it would be easy to find anticipations of Christian ideas among his beliefs. Natural religion may be made a John the Baptist for revelation; and the sheaves of African heathenisms make obeisance to that of Christianity†.

"When a man was born", a black materialist replied to an inquiry about the Negro's idea of a future life,

*See *The Encyclopedia of Missions*, vol. I, p. 225, col. 2, as to this "university".

†The following sketch is confessedly imperfect. Consult Bleek on *Hottentot Fables;* Callaway's works on Zulu folk-lore and religion; Ellis on the Ewe, Tshi and Yariba peoples; Duff Macdonald's *Africana;* James Macdonald's *Religion and Myth;* Rowley's *Religion of Africans;* Schneider's *Religionen der Afrikanischen Naturvoelker;* and Tylor's *Primitive Culture.*

"he was born; and when he died, he was dead; and *there* was an end to the palaver". This anecdote illustrates the difficulty of ascertaining the facts as to the Negro belief in God, immortality and other religious matters. Travelers and superficial observers or theorists have seldom made their questionings intelligible. The heathen, unused to analytic thought, answer vaguely, on the spur of the moment, often in the direction of what may please the inquirer. Both are out of touch with each other's thought and speech. Though Negro theology when eliminated of superstition retains little religion, the men who live twenty-five or fifty years among Negroes know of none whose religious thought is mere superstition. African theological thought divides itself into beliefs as to God and beliefs as to vague spiritual beings. The former constitutes theology proper, originating in man's inborn and universal intuition of God, and would by advanced peoples be formulated in articles of faith; the latter is sheer superstition, individual and varying, resulting in fetich-worship and witchcraft. The theology, though far less known than the superstition, is as truly the religion of the Negro as his superstitious practices and worship. Not all the ideas forming the Negro concept of God are held by all Negroes; but neither do all Christians possess all the ideas that make our conception of God. Parts of these separate Negro ideas are held by every Negro, and a composite photograph presents a true picture of the Negro idea of God.

The Negro knows that God is. He is a superior being, a supreme being, though His supremacy is less than that ascribed by Israel to Yahweh. The Fan, however, have a myth that God gave birth to animals and men, and believe that at death we return to Him. His attitude toward man is that of indifference, for He

is inexorable in allowing evil to exist. This recalls God's utterance through Isaiah: "I create evil". Since He can not be influenced, worship is rendered to the lesser divinities, who though presumably all malevolent can be made benevolent. In spirit-worship, however, there is no thought of preparation for future life, only an intense desire to remain in this one as long as possible; and in the dogmas relative to divinity there is naught that makes for righteousness. The idea of a supreme being prevails throughout Negro Africa in less or larger degree, sometimes clearer or fuller, sometimes more dim and puny, but as a whole substantially that of the Galwa among the Bantu and the Yariba of Sudan. The Galwa have a distinct idea of an invisible being to whom they refer creation and providence; who is also author of life and death; and who was formerly thought to regard character and to punish evil conduct. The Yariba make him the causal, though not always the actual, creator; have some idea of his holiness and justice; talk much of his goodness, knowledge, power and providence; and refuse to compare him to their greatest idol. Such theism is native to the Negro. The evidence of philology, derived from the name for God, shows that Bantu or tropical Africa, has held a spiritual idea of Him for a thousand years and more. It could not have come from white men. Maspero states that "no god of the Egyptians was ever spoken of simply as God. . . . Egypt never accepted the idea of the sole God*." The primeval colonists of East Africa from Arabia were star-worshipers. No influence from Carthage, Hellas or Rome affected religion in Sudan. The monotheism existed before the arrival of Islam. All

*_Dawn of Civilization_, p. 152. In _The Idea of God_ Baynes claims that "African [_i. e._, Negro] races think of God as 'Ancient-of-Days'; 'Heaven'; 'Red-Morning'; 'One-who-has-a-name'; 'That Great One'".

historical probabilities bear against the supposition that either Judaism or ancient Christianity could have been the spring from which by long and winding channels this idea filtered to the Negro. Since the coming of the European merchant (*c.* 1475) these ideas have tended to die out, only the grosser superstitions flourishing in the atmosphere of his liquor-traffic and slave-trade.

Negro theology is a Caliban. Whoever, therefore, wishes to master the workings of the barbarian brain and to make the Negro god live, must study Shakspere's Caliban and Browning's interpretation of Caliban on Setebos. Natural theology in the island explains natural theology in Africa.

This theology exercises next to no influence on Negro life; yet how much do the theological professors of Christendom influence the principles and practices of the masses? The belief in spirits is the every-day religion and worship. One form of this spiritualism has been touched on (ch. 3, p. 55) in giving the philosophy of fetichism*. Spirits possess most of our evil passions, also gratitude and generosity. Some are self-existent beside God, others come into being through His authority, still others are the shades of the dead. They inhabit the atmosphere, animals, the earth and other natural objects. Their powers are limited only by human imagination. They comprise disembodied men; ghosts; divinities of the country-side; household gods; werewolves; and perhaps other beings. They differ in strength, limitation of functions and efficiency in various directions. All can be made subservient to human wishes by incantations.

By study of these and their attendant ceremonies we reach the heart of Negro worship. Formal prayer is

*Synonyms: *bian*, *gree-gree*, *ju-ju*, medicine, *monda*.

rare, ejaculatory prayer constant. The first appeals for mercy, or deprecates evil, or invokes blessing for others It is uttered when in sudden distress, but the new moon is a special season. Sacrifice gratifies the spirit as a sign of respect; sometimes the gift itself gives pleasure. A fowl, goat or sheep is sacrificed on emergencies, but in upper Guinea till very recently human beings afforded the victims. In Dahome human sacrifice was an offering for the safety of the nation. In several regions it still exists. Charms may consist of phrases or words; prohibitions or vows; and fetiches. These consist of objects consecrated by the magician or medicine-man, whose ceremonies localize a spirit in it, and subject him to the owner. Anything may for any purpose be charmed into a talisman. In the east and south fetich-worship is less a cult than in the interior and the north. Graven images and wooden idols are not uncommon here or in the west, and enjoy a precedence. The failure of a fetich shakes the faith of the Negro not in the system but in his talisman. Both men and women may become magicians, and thus immensely powerful, but are liable to destruction if they offend the familiar spirit possessing them. Sickness springs from an enemy injecting a spirit into his victim. Smelling out witches and other obnoxious persons is a natural corollary. Witchcraft is an unutterable evil of Negro society, and the belief has done only less than the slave-trade and wholesale sacrifice toward depopulating Africa. Belief in a future state is quite universal. The breath dies, but the spirit goes into earth and returns.

In 1792 came the crisis of modern missions. The rising of the curtain revealed reinforcement for religion in Africa. Church and state were ready to advance

on its lost peoples. The political, religious and social revolutions of three centuries had prepared Christianity for the evangelization of the world. The marvels and miracles of apostolic missions were to be repeated on a thousandfold grander scale. The era of preparation was to be consummated by the religious partition of Africa. The new *Acts of the Apostles* had begun.

EXCURSUS

THE RISE OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS

AS

BEARING UPON AFRICA

EXCURSUS

1520 = 1792 = 1898

THE RISE OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS AS BEARING UPON AFRICA.

There shall be a handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon.

David

A CHARGE AND A REPLY. SOLID REALITIES. PROTESTANTISM BORN A MISSIONARY. THE REFORMATION'S MISSIONS. LIBERALITY AND PROGRESSIVENESS. EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY'S IDEALS FOR MISSIONS. THE REVIVAL OF MISSIONS BY TEUTONIC CHRISTENDOM. WILLIAM CAREY. DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS. THE EXPANSION OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA. ITS PERIODS OF PREPARATION, 1792=1852; OF EXPLORATION, 1853=77; AND OF ANNEXATION.

Teutonic Christianity has suffered reproach from its Latin sister for the late rise of Protestant missions. The charge lacks foundation in fact. If it had the slightest basis in reality, the Roman church would be the last religious body with any right to taunt its rivals. The historic facts are simply these: From the death of St Luther to the birth of Carey there has never been a decade when Protestantism failed either to carry missions among the heathen or to attempt to promulgate Christianity among pagans. Since the decease of St Calvin there has been but one decade when Protestantism failed either to originate or to try to originate some new enterprise or method in missions. Every century since Christ has had its apostle. To this divine succession every

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Protestant decade since 1555 has contributed its missionary.

Imagine for the sake of the argument that till 1700 Protestantism were derelict in its duty towards non-Christian peoples. Justification would spring from the circumstance that from 1520, when Leo X clave the church by his refusal to reform it, to 1688 Rome compelled every reformed church to fight for very life. In 1555-57 Villegagnon wrecked the Brazilian mission of Coligni and Calvin; and in 1565 Menendez butchered the Floridian colony not as Frenchmen but as Lutherans. This was the last crusade. In such circumstances it would have been useless for Protestantism to attempt missions where Rome could reach them. Moreover, Portugal and Spain held the headship of the seas, and until Holland broke into the orient were the only colonial powers in the European commonwealth. Not till the sea-power of these papal states had been shattered, could Dutch or English, Germans or Scandinavians gain access in any large degree, in any practicable measure, to pagan populations outside of Europe. The years between 1566 and 1688, significant for the eighty years' war of Holland against Spain, for the English overthrow of the great armada, for the thirty years' struggle of Germany and Scandinavia with Austria and for the Puritan revolutions in England, rendered Protestant missions possible.

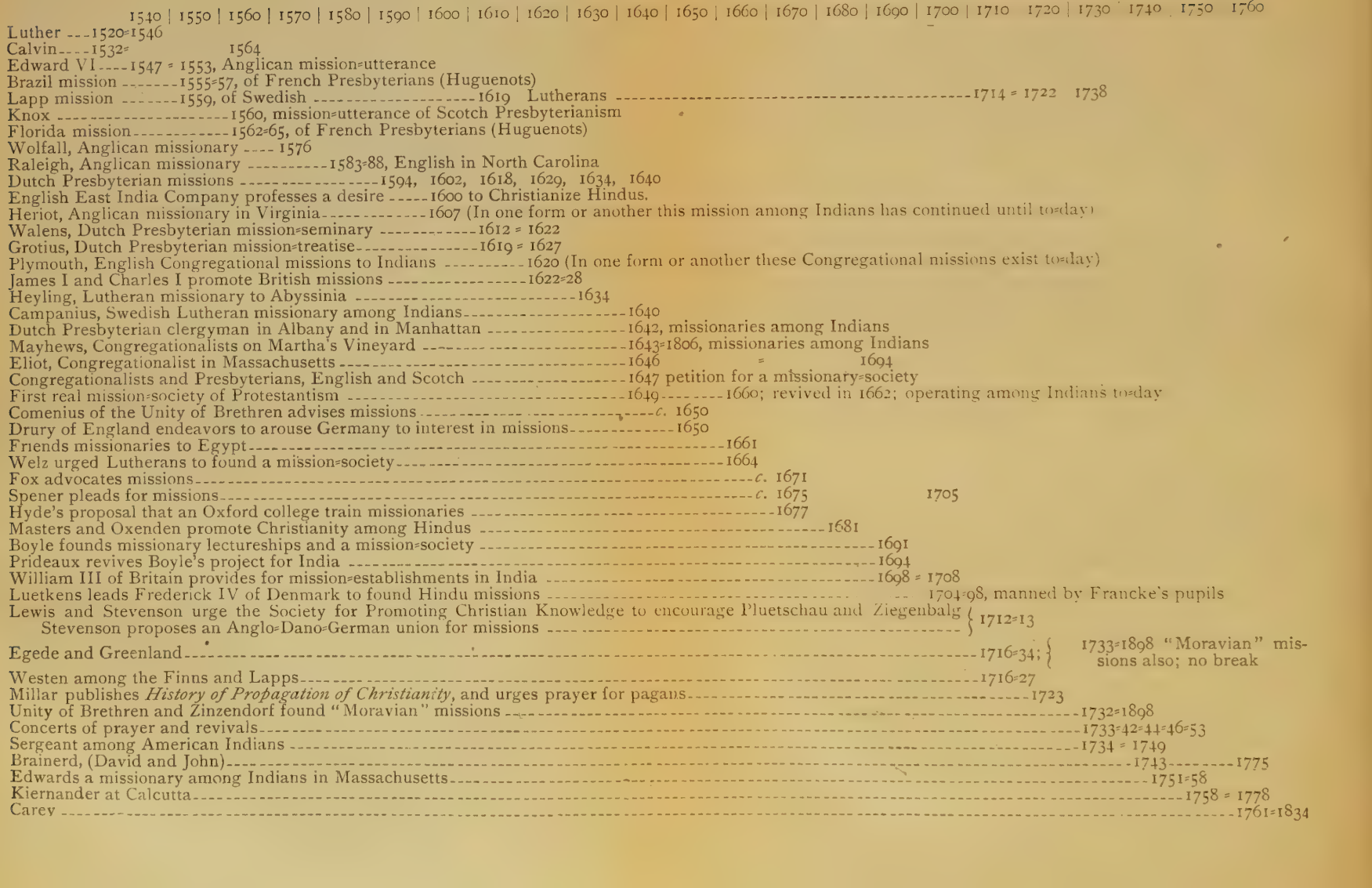
Protestantism, however, was *not* derelict in evangelism. From its birth it was the greatest missionary the world has seen. It instituted missions at once among the home-heathen of Europe. Many of the Protestant movements in the middle ages had been pre-eminently missionary. From 1521 the Baptists, to say nothing of churches existing before the reformation, showed wonderful activity as missionaries to Teutonic Christendom.

RISE OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS TO THE HEATHEN AND THE MUHAMMADANS

From the Death of Luther in 1546 to the Birth of Carey in 1761.

BY

FREDERIC PERRY NOBLE


1540 | 1550 | 1560 | 1570 | 1580 | 1590 | 1600 | 1610 | 1620 | 1630 | 1640 | 1650 | 1660 | 1670 | 1680 | 1690 | 1700 | 1710 1720 | 1730 1740 1750 1760
Luther 1520=1546
Calvin 1532= 1564
Edward VI 1547 = 1553, Anglican mission=utterance
Brazil mission 1555=57, of French Presbyterians (Huguenots)
Lapp mission 1559, of Swedish 1619 Lutherans 1714 = 1722 1738
Knox 1560, mission=utterance of Scotch Presbyterianism
Florida mission 1562=65, of French Presbyterians (Huguenots)
Wolfall, Anglican missionary 1576
Raleigh, Anglican missionary 1583=88, English in North Carolina
Dutch Presbyterian missions 1594, 1602, 1618, 1629, 1634, 1640
English East India Company professes a desire 1600 to Christianize Hindus.
Heriot, Anglican missionary in Virginia 1607 (In one form or another this mission among Indians has continued until to=day)
Walens, Dutch Presbyterian mission=seminary 1612 = 1622
Grotius, Dutch Presbyterian mission=treatise 1619 = 1627
Plymouth, English Congregational missions to Indians 1620 (In one form or another these Congregational missions exist to=day)
James I and Charles I promote British missions 1622=28
Heyling, Lutheran missionary to Abyssinia 1634
Campanius, Swedish Lutheran missionary among Indians 1640
Dutch Presbyterian clergyman in Albany and in Manhattan 1642, missionaries among Indians
Mayhews, Congregationalists on Martha's Vineyard 1643=1806, missionaries among Indians
Eliot, Congregationalist in Massachusetts 1646 = 1694
Congregationalists and Presbyterians, English and Scotch 1647 petition for a missionary=society
First real mission=society of Protestantism 1649 1660; revived in 1662; operating among Indians to=day
Comenius of the Unity of Brethren advises missions c. 1650
Drury of England endeavors to arouse Germany to interest in missions 1650
Friends missionaries to Egypt 1661
Welz urged Lutherans to found a mission=society 1664
Fox advocates missions c. 1671
Spener pleads for missions c. 1675 1705
Hyde's proposal that an Oxford college train missionaries 1677
Masters and Oxenden promote Christianity among Hindus 1681
Boyle founds missionary lectureships and a mission=society 1691
Prideaux revives Boyle's project for India 1694
William III of Britain provides for mission=establishments in India 1698 = 1708
Luetkens leads Frederick IV of Denmark to found Hindu missions 1704=98, manned by Francke's pupils
Lewis and Stevenson urge the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to encourage Pluetschau and Ziegenbalg
Stevenson proposes an Anglo=Dano=German union for missions 1712=13
Egede and Greenland 1716=34; 1733=1898 "Moravian" missions also; no break
Westen among the Finns and Lapps 1716=27
Millar publishes *History of Propagation of Christianity*, and urges prayer for pagans 1723
Unity of Brethren and Zinzendorf found "Moravian" missions 1732=1898
Concerts of prayer and revivals 1733=42=44=46=53
Sergeant among American Indians 1734 = 1749
Brainerd, (David and John) 1743 1775
Edwards a missionary among Indians in Massachusetts 1751=58
Kiernander at Calcutta 1758 = 1778
Carey 1761=1834

The Bohemian Unity of Brethren and the Italian Waldenses of course renewed their old activity. The Huguenots had since 1512 been evangelizing France and Spain. Medieval Christianity as a whole, as a system, was in many respects a fetichism, in others a polytheism. Students of church-history and comparative theology agree as to these characteristics. Protestantism took men back to the Scriptures, put them in intimate, personal, vital relations with God and, in restoring the right of private judgment, recovered the principle that has ultimately resulted in freedom for body, mind and spirit. Luther occasioned the reactionary reform of Loyola, and the Roman communion, especially in its clergy, became to some extent a reformed church.

Turn from domestic to foreign missions. A glance at the diagram shows graphically (1) that Calvin and Coligni inaugurated Protestant missions among non-Christians; (2) that Gustavus Vasa opened a Swedish Lutheran mission to heathen Lapps that has continued despite transient interruptions to our times; (3) that Dutch Presbyterians conserved this continuity of Protestant missions by a work in the extreme east extending from 1602 into the present century; (4) that the missions of the Anglicans in Virginia and the Congregationalists in Massachusetts overlap the Dutch and Swedish enterprises and have never died; (5) that Denmark and Halle parallel American missions from 1704 and prolong the chain of missionary life in Protestant churches until 1798; and, finally, that the Unity of Brethren (1732) and Wesley (1735) independently carry back the mission-work of Protestantism to times before Carey. Further inspection shows the links between the beginnings of each enterprise; but as this analysis is not exhaustive but merely suggestive, it is enough to remark now that

here are five developments of Protestant missions originating before 1735, swinging into line as a predecessor appeared to falter, and working to-day. Protestant missions might languish here or lapse there, but in one place or another, in this shape or that, some form of Protestant missionary interest has never ceased since 1546. To carp at Teutonic Christianity as unfaithful to missions before 1792 is to ignore not only its actual and considerable achievement but the exhaustion of spiritual vitality in the papal as well as the Protestant church of the eighteenth century. Religious war, scholastic theology and unbelief sapped the strength not of Germanic Christianity alone but of the Latin communion.

More important, however, than any chronological summary of events is their revelation of laws and principles in Protestant missions. To say nothing of the Scriptural ground for evangelical missions, these run their roots eight hundred years into medieval Christianity. Setting this fact aside, Luther laid a foundation for Protestant missions. Though Warneck affirms that no thought of a mission to the heathen ever entered Luther's mind, Kalkar, Ostertag and Plitt maintain that he used every opportunity afforded by a text to urge the dispatch of preachers to heathens and Turks. If Lutherans may not be credited with priority in enunciating the duty of Protestants to carry Christianity to heathenism and Islam, this honor would fall to the Anglican church. Between 1547 and 1553 Edward VI, its head, announced that "sowing Christianity must be the chief interest of such as make any attempt at foreign discovery". Though French Presbyterians and Swedish Lutherans anticipated English churchmen and Congregationalists in realizing this principle by the actual dispatch of mis-

sionaries, Wolfall must be considered the first English Protestant missionary, while every English endeavor to colonize professed the missionary motive. In fact this principle as truly as commerce inspired all attempts at colonization after 1415, and was avowed by each. In England the three Protestant reformations, Anglican, Puritan and Wesleyan, occasioned the expansion of Christianity among heathen kin beyond sea, and resulted directly in sending missionaries. England, therefore, especially through her American representatives, and also nobly seconded by Scotland, must be adjudged the pioneer of modern missions Their evangelical character was never wholly lost; but that of the Swedish and Dutch missions degenerated, in the former into dead orthodoxy, in the latter into the nominal, numerical success of the papal Portuguese; while the spiritual Dano-Halle, "Moravian" and Wesleyan missions did not arise till the eighteenth century.

Not only had every church existing in 1760, except the Baptists, revealed an interest in missions and a desire to fulfill its duty, but almost every principle in the philosophy of Protestant missions had been perceived, every method broached or practiced. Education of the heathen and the translation of the Scriptures into their languages were attempted from the first. Associations were formed to promote missions, a Virginian company in 1588 being possibly the first Protestant missionary society, though probably the New England Society of 1649 (1647?) was the first real one in Protestant Christendom. At the outset, then, we meet with the cardinal and Teutonic element of Protestant missions, the voluntary principle; and it is only a few years later that they prove themselves to be a unifying force for the reunion of Protestantism. The modern training-college for mis-

sionaries originated in 1622, for Walens the Dutch Presbyterian anticipated the papal Propaganda in this by five years*. Welz the Austrian Lutheran in 1664 urged the establishment of missionary-colleges in all Protestant universities and the foundation of missionary fellowships. Each mission-college was to have a professorship of geography, based on Paul's travels, another of evangelization and a third for linguistics. Boyle in 1691 founded a missionary lectureship. Cambridge and Oxford Universities, though possibly preceded by Leiden and Upsala, exemplified the interest that scholarship ought to take in missions. Interdenominationalism entered as a factor, for the Puritan society consisted of Anglican, Congregational and Presbyterian members; probably, also, of Baptists. In the eighteenth century Francke the German Lutheran corresponded with Cotton Mather the Massachusetts Congregationalist, and American Puritans as well as English churchmen aided the Halle mission in Danish India. A glimpse was gained of the idea that nations possess missionary obligations, for in 1634 (1631?) the federal senate of the Dutch republic sent Junius (Young), a magnificent missionary of Scotch ancestry, to Formosa; and in 1636 the *Pilgrim* legislature at Plymouth, in 1644-46 the *Puritan* law-makers at Boston, and in 1649 the English parliament followed suit in making a state a society for missions. Cromwell's Ironsides, a veritable church militant, took missionary-collections. The action of Holland constitutes a curious forecast of similar procedure by France and Germany to-day toward African missions. The foolish fancy that missionaries should support themselves was not unknown, but the supply of a stipend from a church or the state or a society was the prevalent prac-

*Authorities differ as to the date of Walens' college, 1612 being possibly a misprint for 1621.

tice. The establishment of Protestant state-churches proved in the long run as disadvantageous for missions as that of the Roman communion. Dutch Presbyterianism at Cape Colony (1652) injured the natives only less than Portuguese Romanism and slaving in Abyssinia, Angola and Mozambique. Literature, philosophy, science and theology were enlisted in the service of missions. Francke's *History of Evangelical Missions* was from 1710 the first of missionary magazines. Bogatzky produced the first missionary hymn (1749). Leibniz perceived the value of missions for philosophy and science, proposed that Lutheran missionaries be sent to China, and inserted the promotion of missions into the constitution of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. Grotius, theologian as well as jurist, wrote *The Truth of the Christian Religion* as a text-book for missionaries. The necessity for training natives at home or abroad as missionaries was realized in Sweden, Holland, Halle and America. Industrial missions were also at work when Dober, Stach and Schmid became the "Moravian" pioneers; Eliot (1646-90) both Christianized and civilized his Indians; while Sergeant (1734-49) devised plans not unlike those of Lovedale Institution. Protestant statesmen saw as clearly then as now the significance and value of missions. Kings were their nursing fathers. Coligni, Gustavus Vasa, Gustavus Adolphus, James I, Charles I, Oxenstjerna, Friedrich IV of Denmark and William III and George I of England afford instances. Cromwell, the ablest and noblest among the hundred English rulers between Arthur and Victoria, planned a rival to the Propaganda that, if realized, would have been a catholic and world-wide institute of missions. It was to consist of interdenominational counsellors and of a secretary for each of four provinces. The third prov-

ince included Turkey, then an African power; the fourth the Indies, comprising the Antilles and East Africa as well as the East Indies and Hindustan. The secretaries were to keep themselves in touch with religious affairs throughout the world, unconsciously anticipating a permanent parliament of religions, and to administer a mission-fund of £10,000 a year.

More helpful, however, than all these endeavors, ideals and methods was the reinforcement brought to missions by Alleine, Fox, Oxenbridge, Spener, Mather, Francke, Zinzendorf, Millar, Boston, Brainerd, Edwards, Doddridge and Wesley. Fox, true Friend of God and founder of the "Quakers", about 1671 followed the action of Puritan Massachusetts (1646) in initiating agitation against Negro slavery and the slave-trade. Spener, Francke and Zinzendorf, the Lutheran pietists, infused religious thought with spiritual life. Millar the Scotch Presbyterian urged prayer (1723) as the first and most powerful means for the conversion of the heathen world. In 1733, 1742 and 1751 revivals increased the spirituality of English-speaking Christians. In 1744-46 concerted prayer for the coming of the kingdom formed a beginning in the preparation, and led Jonathan Edwards, a Congregational minister and missionary in Massachusetts, to his attempt to promote prayer. His work, Cook's voyages and Brainerd's life inspired Carey the Baptist. Through the darkest of the hours before the dawn of to-day's missions the "Moravian" and the Wesleyan revived personal piety everywhere. Yet every communion in the Protestant pale, Anglican, Congregational, Lutheran and Presbyterian, had broken ground for missions more than a century before the Bohemian Brethren revived, and one hundred and forty years before Carey was born.

Nothing, however, can bate a single jot from the world's debt to this consecrated cobbler. He was the second Luther of missions. Though the leaders of the church had everywhere for two centuries pointed out its obligations and opportunities as to missions, the fulness of time had not come. Carey put a trumpet to his lips whose call resounded through Christendom. Carey awakened and organized the laymen, the middle classes of the Protestant churches. Other men, especially Grant of India and Mills of Massachusetts, would have done this work had Carey never lived; but this can not dim the fact that the actual achievement is Carey's. His dauntless determination proved to be the rallying-point for beginning the conflict of all evangelical churches against heathenism through the world. Protestant missions, whether Anglican, Congregational, Lutheran, "Moravian" or Presbyterian, had been small; conducted generally by men slightly qualified; and mainly directed toward obscure, savage races. These pioneer missions could not influence the civilizations of Asia and Central Africa, the citadels of heathendom, the centers of Islamry or the religions of the orient. They required reinforcement. Though they indicated the path of fellowship between Protestant churches in this century, the earlier missions developed into their modern shape through Carey. He is the hero of the missionary enterprise of the nineteenth century.

The foundation of societies by Protestant laymen as well as ministers and the revival of papal missions constitute the cardinal factors in the evolution of missionary activity since 1792. The Protestant with his Bible and his belief that through Christ's life and death God reconciles men to Himself, frees them from the guilt of sin and makes them holy has been emulated by the Roman

with his church, human tradition and intrusion of third parties between man and God-in-Christ. The Calvinist, though first in the field of Protestant missions, has been scarcely more active in hastening to save sinners from righteous retribution than the Arminian to proclaim the love and mercy of God and His gift of grace and salvation. Evangelical Episcopalians led their more sacerdotal brethren, and eventually ritualists followed. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel "considers itself justified as the representative of *the* church to build everywhere on other men's foundations". Societies soon originated for translating and distributing the Scriptures; for education; for industrial or medical or mercantile supplements to the specific features of missions; for women's work; or for others among the thousand auxiliaries of the preacher and teacher. After 1830 the churches themselves in distinction from corporations began to organize as missionaries. In this, the true method and principle, the Unity of Brethren had set the example a century before.

Protestant missions in Africa may be divided into three periods*. The first extends from 1792 to 1852, when the Atlantic slave-trade was suppressed. This was the time of ignorance, the years of preparation. The second reaches to 1877, and is the great era of the recovery of tropical Africa. Livingstone's explorations and death furnished two motive forces, marked two stages of progress. The third period dawned in 1875-77, and is that of Africa becoming an appanage of Europe, of Islam's expiring effort and of Christendom's grapple with the inland slave-trade. The British (1833), American (1863) and Brazilian (1888) emancipations accom-

*The following summary of the rise of Protestant missions in Africa appeared in *The Missionary Review* for June, 1898. Messrs Funk and Wagnalls kindly grant free use of the material, which is published here in abridged and condensed form.

pany and match the opening of inner Africa, and play providential parts in preparing agents of African descent for African evangelization.

Any summary of a century of missions must want color and verve, and consist of a skeleton of agencies and dates, fields and results. There will also be anticipations of statements occurring in each of the following chapters.

The "Moravians" re-entered Cape Colony in Carey's year, and in 1892 occupied Kondeland, a Nyasa district in the southwest of German East Africa. In a century their missions crossed the continent. Agitation against slavery and the trade aided interest in African missions. British Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Wesleyans attempted missions in Sierra Leone (1795-97). The capture of Cape Colony called attention to South Africa, and the London Society, now a Congregational organization, entered the field (1798). Within ten years it passed the frontier. It made the Chwana, Grikwa and Korana known, saved the Khoi-Khoin from extinction, and rescued the rights of native races. In 1818 it opened Madagascar and Moffat came. Then occurred an African apostolic succession, a torch-bearing of life and light through the darkness of Bantuland, nobler far than the Hellenic torch-race. In 1804 arrived the Church Society (Anglican). Since 1816 it and the Wesleyans have made Sierra Leone practically a Christian land. Egypt (1815-30), Ethiopia (1831-43), East Africa (1844), Yariba (1846) and Lagos (1852) indicate the scope of the society's work, but defy more than mere mention. Mauritius (1856) and the Seychelles, Madagascar (1864-74) and Aden (1886) need to be also noted. The Niger (1857) and Uganda (1877) stand for the opening of doors, the former to Central Sudan, the latter to the Nile

land. British Wesleyans pressed hard on the Anglicans, opening missions proper in Sierra Leone (1811) and Cape Colony (1815). These Methodists, as makers of Sa'=Leonese churches, have been second only to English Episcopalians. In South Africa the numerical success became such that now the Wesleyan society works in British Bechwanaland, Rhodesia, Stellaland, Swaziland, Transvaal and Zululand. South of Vaal River the colonial Wesleyans promote missions, in 1896 claiming 44,819 Negro communicants. Their native churches are notable for the prevalence of self=support.

American Baptists and Scotch Presbyterians appeared in 1821, new=founded Liberia magnetizing the former and other American denominations, Kafraria drawing the latter. Two Negro missionaries of a Virginian colored society aroused interest in missions for Liberia, and were America's first missionaries in Africa, since Antes the Pennsylvania "Moravian" had attempted (1783) to reach Abyssinia. Southern Baptists opened Yariba in 1853. Negro Baptists are also at work in Africa. Scotch Presbyterians among the Kafir have been blest with magnificent results. Lovedale set the standard for industrial missions, and the Free Church (1844) has made a great propaganda. The Scotch United Presbyterians (1847) have supplemented the Free Church in filling Kafraria with native churches and Christian communities, colleges and schools.

The Americans in Liberia anticipated other missionaries in recognizing that Africa must be Christianized by its children, and worked in accordance with this principle. The Basel Society, after seeking a Liberian opening, planted itself (1828) by the "Moravian" graves along the Gold Coast. The following year saw German Lutherans from the Rhenish Society and French Presby-

terians from the Paris Society take position in the invading force. Both entered Cape Colony, both energized efficiently, both found truer spheres elsewhere — the first in the Atlantic lands north of Orange River, the second in Basutoland*.

The decades 1833-52 saw more numerous and rapid forward movements. The American anti-slavery agitation and the British emancipation kindled fresh interest in Africa and missions. The Boer migrations (1834) that colonized Natal and originated the Orange Free State and the South African Republic; the British history-making in Austral Africa; the narratives of Krapf and Rebmann that stimulated scientific interest; and the rise and fall of native powers from Algeria and Egypt to Kafraria and Zululand were all used by the King of kings to speed the coming of His kingdom. American Methodists and Presbyterians entered Liberia (1833). The American Board, the first Zulu mission of any organized society, reached Natal in 1834. As Guinea above and below escaped the miasma of the marine slave-trade, a malaria in which no mission can thrive, the missionary platoons as if by common impulse wheeled into better position. Congregationalist and Presbyterian transferred their Cape Palmas mission to Gabun (1842). The Episcopalians (1836) encamped at Cape Palmas, and obtained admirable results. The Congregationalists in Zululand found a cramped and obstinate field, but persevered until colonists and governments as well as natives appreciated them.

Through Neander's Berlin Society German Lutheranism reinforced the Rhenish Society with Berlin missions (1834). British Baptists at the instance of Jamaica's recently emancipated Negroes, who themselves stood

*Basutoland = Ba-Suto = Sutu.

indebted to Lisle, the Georgian Negro, opened Fernando Po (1841). Soon driven to Kamerun, they stayed here forty years. American Congregationalists founded a Mendi mission (Sierra Leone) with rescued slaves (1842); the American Missionary Association carried it (1846-83); and finally this handed it to the United Brethren in Christ, who since 1855 had been beside it. This year an outburst of ancient savagery, as anticipated in one passage of the first chapter, the paragraph on North African missions, has wrecked the work.

Jamaica presently inspired Scotland's United Presbyterians to evangelize Old Calabar (1846). Scandinavian Lutherans arrived at last, the Norse Society, a lay body, settling in Natal (1845). The North German Society (now Presbyterian) sat down at the Slave Coast and suffered terribly, but achieved a success of sound substance; and the Gospel-Propagation Society (Anglican) entered in Cape Colony upon missions proper (1847). The society made the enlargement of the Anglican communion keep pace (almost) with the expansion of empire (the bishoprics of Cape Town, Grahamston, Natal, St Helena, Bloemfontein, Zululand, St John, Pretoria, Lebombo and Mashonaland being the successive courses in building the Province of South Africa), and has seen the years 1847, 1853, 1859, 1863, 1870, 1873, 1878 and 1891 become milestones for the march of its ecclesiastical statesmanship.

When 1852 arrived every evangelical church-system was represented by one or other of its denominational branches. A Christian era began for modern Egypt. American United Presbyterians concentrated here in force (1854). Negro Episcopalians of the Antilles inaugurated and manned the Pongo mission. Hermannsburg the ultra Lutheran sent its stalwart peasant-mission into

Natal (1854), passed into Zululand through a wagon-house for the chief, and reached western Transvaal. British United Methodists came to Sierra Leone (1859) and East Africa (1861). Here Krapf located them among the southern Galla. American Lutherans (General Synod) blessed Liberia (1860) with sagacious, tireless ministries. The Swedish National Society of Lutheran laymen gained northern Abyssinia (1865), and vainly attempted the Galla. Its hour will come. The Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Colony began (1863) to realize its responsibility for the pagan. The Universities' Mission of Cambridge, Dublin, Durham and Oxford after a fatal beginning on the Shire river settled at Zanzibar (1863). Returning to the mainland (1867), it finally regained Nyasa (1884), and created the strong bishopric of Likoma. Finnic Lutherans, after working in a Hermannsburg station, made a miniature mission of their own among the Ovambo (1868). British Primitive Methodists discovered a vital spark of Baptist missions in Fernando Po (1870) and took the field, finding another little corner in Cape Colony and in 1890 winning a foothold in the Shukulumbi district of North Zambezia. The Propagation-Society intruded into Madagascar (1864), fashioned a bishopric (1874) and in 1895 claimed ten thousand members. Norse Lutherans pressed into unoccupied Malagasi fields (1866). English Friends took ground (1868) gladly granted by the London Society, and worked in friendliest fellowship and with fine success. Hova, Lagos and Sierra Leone native mission-societies began.

Commerce and statesmanship at last perceived that Africa deserves development. Stanley's descent of the Kongo dated an era. French-speaking Swiss Presbyterians started a mission in Transvaal's farthest north

(1874). Scotland's Established church re-entered Africa after a generation of absence, and founded Blantyre (1874). The Free Church created the noble project of Livingstonia (1875), for part of which Cape Colony's Dutch Presbyterians made themselves responsible and to which Kafrarian Presbyterianism contributes. The London Society reached the Tanganika (1878). These wise and unselfish assignments of mission-spheres opened Central Africa from the east as Venn and Krapf thirty years previously had forecast. British Baptists and Livingstone Mission drove wedges from the west (1877), both operating on the Kongo, while the American Board advanced into Benguela (1880) and toward Gazaland (1883). North Africa finally (1881) acquired a mission for its Islamites, though its Jews from Abyssinia to Marocco had long received Christian attention. American Baptists of the North assumed Livingstone Mission (1884). Scandinavian agents were thus released, and Swedish Congregationalists rallied to their support. German East Africa and Kamerun required Teutonic missionaries, and received more than a few (1886 *sq.*). The Berlin Society, which has accepted the London Society's missions on German soil and has also independent fields; the Berlin East African Society; the Leipzig and Neukirchen Societies and the "Moravians" are prominent. At Gabun, where the Presbyterian Board (1871) finds a difficult and narrow field, French brethren in faith placed requested reinforcements (1886). In Madagascar they entered with warm welcome from English Congregationalists (1896). The French mission among the Barotsi (Rutsi) on the uppermost Zambezi originated (1884) as an outgrowth of Sutu Christianity. Arnot planted the cross in Garenganze (Katanga), midway the continent. Simpson and Taylor independently

attempted self-supporting missions, the latter's work in 1896 becoming officially that of the Methodist Church (American). The Church Society took Mary Whately's work from her dead hand (1890), and essays to push up the Niger far beyond its present posts. Sheppard, a Virginian Negro, inspired the Presbyterian Church South to enter Belgian Kongo (1890). New missions and rumors of missions became too numerous for further mention*.

*See *The Distribution of the Chief African Mission-Forces* (pp. 418-435 of *The Student Missionary Appeal*, a report of the Cleveland Convention, 1898, of the Student-Volunteers) for full details as to the churchly connections, geographical distribution and historic significance of the chief strategic centers in the evangelization of Africa and for similar specifications as to the societies in the several African fields. The present author is here compelled to disclaim responsibility for the (mis)spelling, there, of the oriental, especially of the African, words in his address. For the erroneous forms of proper names there presented the editors of that report are accountable.

BOOK II

THE RELIGIOUS PARTITION OF AFRICA

FROM LOYOLA AND ZINZENDORF TO LIVINGSTONE AND LAVIGERIE

1520–1898

CHAPTER 6

1703–1898

THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION IN ITS AFRICAN APOSTOLATE

The place whereon thou standest is holy.
The Book of Joshua

GOD THE CAPTAIN OF MISSIONS. FIRST ANGLICAN MISSION-SOCIETY. ITS AFRICAN WORK. MINOR ANGLICAN SOCIETIES. AFRICA AND AMERICAN EPISCOPACY. HAITI. MORE OF THE MINOR ANGLICAN MISSION-SOCIETIES. BRITISH UNIVERSITIES AS MISSIONARIES. THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY FOR AFRICA AND THE EAST. IN SIERRA LEONE. IN YARIBA. IN LAGOS. ON THE NIGER. IN EGYPT AND ABYSSINIA. IN ARABIA, MALTA AND MAURITIUS. IN EAST AFRICA. IN UGANDA. PRESENT AND ULTIMATE RESULTS.

The thrilling scene described in *Joshua* v : 13-15 by the prophetic historian forms a spiritual analogy to the Christian conquest of Africa. This ancient incident portrays in miniature the progress of Anglican missions. From the time when the Church Missionary Society entered to the present day God has been the captain of its campaigns. No Bismarck ever planned more purposefully for the overthrow of France than Providence has successively led this society to the spiritual invasion of such strategic centers as Sierra Leone, Egypt, Abyssinia, Yariba, Zanguebar, Lagos, Mauritius, Nigeria and Uganda. Yet the work of the society is but the climax of a century of preparation, for the African missions of the established church of England began with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

This organization was founded in 1701. Its origin is probably due to the Puritan missionary society of 1649, but it represents the ritualist and sacerdotal side of the Anglican church. It did not become distinctly a missionary agency until 1847. Yet during the eighteenth century teachers and ministers were employed especially for work among the heathen. As early as 1741 it could report that Negroes had been baptized by its missionaries. An itinerant missionary was sent to Guinea in 1751; a native African, who had been educated and ordained in England, to the Gold Coast in 1765; and a catechist to Sierra Leone in 1787. None made much impression, though Quaque the Negro remained chaplain of Cape Coast Castle for fifty years. Our surprise is lessened when we learn that on his death-bed (1815?) he (if Marshall can be credited) preferred the fetich to the cross, while between 1752 and 1800 the society had only three missionaries in West Africa. From 1712 to the present time the society has assisted in planting and extending the church in the West Indies. This included the Negro populations, and one of the spiritual reactions of this work is the African mission of the Anglican church of the West Indies. This church works among the Ponga of French Guinea (about 10° N. and 14° W.), and the society aids this mission, which is under the supervision of the bishop of Sierra Leone. As far as possible its missionaries are drawn from the Negroes of the Antilles, especially from Codrington College (1710), Barbados. In South Africa the expansion of Britain has been swiftly followed by the extension of the Episcopal church. The secular power of the state has scarcely outstripped the spiritual power of the church as incarnated in this society. It sent a chaplain to Cape Town in 1820 and another in 1840, but it had begun operations

in South Africa before 1810 and has Christianized thousands of Kafirs. Bishop Gray was consecrated in 1847, and became the Athanasius of South Africa. There were then only thirteen clergymen throughout Austral Africa. The society immediately entered upon a career of ecclesiastical statesmanship. Through a system of endowments it has created the dioceses of Cape Town, Grahamston, St John, Natal, Zululand, Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Lebombo and Mashuna. With the St Helena bishopric these make the province of South Africa. There are also the independent bishoprics of Mauritius, Madagascar, Zanzibar and East Africa (formerly Central Africa), East Equatorial Africa, Likoma (formerly Nyasaland), Sierra Leone and West Equatorial Africa (formerly Niger). It has thus made the Anglican church second only to the Dutch Reformed communion, though in 1875 Cape Colony disestablished state-churches. In addition to pastoral labors for English colonists, missions are carried on among the natives; and it would be hard to overestimate the importance of Kimberley, the city of diamonds, for work in Griqualand among the ever-changing populations that come from every country within reach. An association has been formed to prevent their deterioration. Before 1875 natives themselves carried Christianity to some Chwana people without it, and the mission that was opened in consequence of their success has over one thousand communicants. In the lands of the Sutu, Swazi and Zulu there are several thousands of converts, and in Mashuna (Rhodesia) a bishop is pushing the evangelization of European and Negro heathen. Kafir and other converts are numbered by thousands*. A native ministry has

*The society in 1896 reported sixty-eight thousand church-members in Africa (nineteen thousand of them communicants) and ten thousand in Madagascar. But how many are *not* colonists?

grown up. A local fund for it is supported entirely by natives. Much attention is given to education and industry, the boys being taught blacksmithing, carpentry, gardening, tinsmithing and wagonmaking, while the girls are instructed in housekeeping. The bishop of St John has recently attempted the evangelization of the Pondu. The Malagasi mission was opened in 1864, and a bishop was consecrated ten years later. Since then the society has remained responsible for the support of the bishop and his missionaries. Not till lately have they received reasons for encouragement as to results.

The missionary service of the Gospel-Propagation Society links and overlaps that of other Episcopal churches and societies. In British Africa, in the British Antilles, in Scotland and in the United States, churches having Episcopalian governments or organizations have planted Christianity in every grand division of Africa. Their agencies number forty-nine, but not all engage directly in evangelization. Some act as auxiliaries to societies so engaged. Others aid indirectly by raising money or by publishing missionary literature. It may be best to sketch the minor societies, and to close with the work of the Church Missionary Society. The small organizations are so unimportant that they may be taken alphabetically according to corporate titles.

An Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt assists the Kopts in the higher education of their clergy. Upon the consecration of Bishop Cotterill as bishop of Edinburgh the Scotch Episcopal Church founded its own board of missions in 1872. The bishop had labored as a missionary of the Gospel Missionary Society in Kafraria for twelve years, and had become a bishop there. Hence he felt a special interest in this field, and effected permanent union with it. In addition

to providing the income of the bishop of independent Kafraria the board sends annual contributions for the general purposes of the diocese and also funds for special objects connected with churches and schools. The Cape Town mission attends to home needs. The Christian Faith Society was founded in 1691 through the will of Robert Boyle, but did not work among Negroes before 1783. It devoted itself to the slaves in the British Antilles, but since 1836 it has included Mauritius and other African lands in its sphere of missions. The recipients of its grants have repeatedly acknowledged them to be of the greatest value. Without the assistance of this society many undertakings could never have been begun or must have been closed. In The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698, it finds a fellow of almost equal age and equivalent functions. This is the Bible and prayer-book society of the Anglican establishment, its organization for pure literature and tracts; for domestic missions and education; for colonial and foreign missions; and for spiritual aid to emigrants. It publishes and distributes prayer-books and Bibles in whole or in part in more than seventy-five languages; grants books or money; assists foreign committees to publish and translate; and supplies its own publications at cost or less. To missions it also gives distinctively religious works and the historical, literary or scientific productions of able authors. It has, *e. g.*, put the biography of Mackay of Uganda into Swahili. Fiction, if pure and elevating, is included. In African colonies or in any Anglican diocese it builds or aids in building chapels, churches and missions; trains lay-missionaries and native clergy and physicians; establishes or maintains medical missions; and endows bishops and priests. In South Africa, among other fields, it exercises

unique care over the immigrants, watching both for their secular and spiritual interests. The Church of England Book-Society circulates Christian literature in East Africa and Sierra Leone as well as in other fields. The Church-Women's Association of the Scotch Episcopalians aids their missions in Kafraria, and has a juvenile guild. The Colonial and Continental Church Society operates in all the principal colonies of Britain, including African dependencies and the Negroes of Canada. The Coral Mission-Fund was founded by English church-women in 1848, and works for the Church Missionary Society. Its chief work is the support of children in the society's orphanages and schools. It has repeatedly gone to the rescue in such emergencies as providing relief for rescued slaves at Freretown. The Society of Saint John the Evangelist, generally known as the Cowley Brotherhood, was founded at Oxford in 1874 by R. M. Benson, and associates itself with the Society for Propagating the Gospel*. Its members are celibates, and consecrate themselves to missions for life. The Central Sudan Hausa Association aims at scholarly and serviceable study of the Hausa language and at the conversion of this Negro people. They possess energy, intelligence, industry and judgment; are skilful, almost artistic artisans with leather, metals and other materials; own histories, songs and tales in Hausa; and are even credited with being the only Negro race to value a book. They perhaps number fifteen millions, and may become the makers of Nigeria. While they are followers of Islam, they know very little of their religion. Consequently the formidable fanaticism of Egyptian or East Sudan is almost unknown. The

*The *Encyclopedia of Missions*, edited by Bliss, vol. 2, p. 586, entry 452: "1874. The Cowley Brotherhood, associate with the S. P. G. Secretary, Rev. Father Superior Cowley, St. John, Oxford". The cyclopedia errs.

first student of this association arranged in 1894 to study Hausa in the important towns of Central Sudan (Nigeria), a project having the cordial sympathy of the Church Missionary Society. The Ladies' Association for Female Education works among the missions of the Gospel-Propagation Society, sustaining missionaries in Madagascar and having schools for Kafir children at Cape Town, Grahamston and Maritzburg. It also supplies much-needed funds for the maintenance of native teachers. At Durban it opened a school in 1888 for the daughters of Hindi coolies. The London Society for Christianity Among Jews entered Abyssinia in 1860, and still has a station. It also works at Tunis, Mogador and Algiers. At Maritzburg, Natal, a local mission cares for thirty thousand Hindi coolies and four hundred thousand Zulu. The Missionary-Leaves Association supplies the missionaries and stations of the Church Missionary Society with help in money and materials toward requisites that it does not fall within the province of the latter society to supply. It informs friends at home, and aids recipients abroad.

The American Episcopalians chose Africa as their first foreign mission, but were hindered from beginning work before 1830. They claim to have sustained unique relations since 1819 to Liberia's birth and growth, and that their missionary society was founded the same year as the colony. Liberia has always been their sole African mission. The first persons employed were a colored man and his wife, citizens of Liberia, whom in 1835 the society appointed as missionary-teachers. Not till 1836 did the first missionary from America arrive. For fifteen years the disturbances among the Liberians hampered the mission greatly, but in 1850 a missionary-bishop was consecrated. Until 1860 the work kept extending.

Then the rebellion of the American slave-holders lessened the financial support of the mission, and obliged it to discontinue some stations and to curtail operations at others. The work is now carried on among the Grebo in the north, the Bassa at the center and the Veh in the south. Stewart, the author of *Liberia*, states that "the Episcopalians have prosecuted the work with amazing persistency and great results. Recently a pious and scholarly colored clergyman was elected bishop. This practically establishes Liberia as a diocese". On the other hand Cust claims that no impression has been made by the educated Negroes of Liberia and Sierra Leone on the surrounding colored men, and that this renders the outlook very dark. The second generation is growing up with but few opportunities for education. The nation faces intensifying difficulties. We wonder that so much has been accomplished in the past, and hope that America can protect Liberian nationality.

From Africa to America may seem a far cry, but her Macedonian call is echoed and enforced by the black republics of the Antilles. In addition to their strictly African work the American Episcopalians have been connected with Haiti since 1862, when an organized mission-congregation of their church emigrated thither. The society conducted the Haitien work as a mission from 1865 to 1874. Then the Episcopal church recognized the church in Haiti as a daughter grown to independence, and consecrated Holley the Negro as its first bishop. The work has always suffered from poverty and many other drawbacks, and has only one bishop, nine presbyters and four deacons, all of whom are either native or naturalized citizens. The American house of bishops reorganized the Haitien church in 1883 as an

independent communion, but the society continues to assist it.

The Net is an English magazine that receives collections for any mission, but is particularly the organ of Mackenzie mission in Zululand. This was established and its bishopric endowed in honor of Bishop Mackenzie of the Universities' mission who died at Lake Nyasa in 1862. The force consists of the bishop of Zululand, priests, deacons and laymen and laywomen. *The Net* pledges nearly five thousand dollars a year for this mission, which is also aided by the Gospel-Propagation Society. The Parochial Missions to the Jews aid pastors of Anglican churches to evangelize their Jewish parishioners. These Jewish missions are not those of the church as a whole but of local and single churches. Among the parishes thus occupied are those of Alexandria and Cairo. The Sierra Leone Mission-Society was founded in England in 1792, seven years before the Church Missionary Society, but is now connected with the latter*. The Sierra Leone Missions are a society established by the native church of that colony in 1875. This Negro church and society carry on the former missions of the Church Missionary Society among the Bullom, Mende and Timni. The Woman's Auxiliary to the board of missions of American Episcopalians aids the general mission-work. In its African sphere several women are connected with the Liberian stations, and the auxiliary supports female missionaries, engages in educational and evangelistic effort, and even erects mission-buildings. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Reformed Episcopal Church in the United States has made a grant for a training-school in Sierra Leone, and sends aid annually to Africa. The colored congregations of this church in

*Mr Thornton, however, informs me that it is not, but is Wesleyan.

South Carolina were in 1893 considering the idea of a Christian colony to Africa with a pastor as head-missionary.

In 1857 Livingstone the Congregationalist appealed to Cambridge and Oxford. Monk wrote to him: "That Cambridge visit of yours lighted a candle which will NEVER, NEVER go out". In 1859, after a second appeal by Bishop Gray, their response, including Dublin and Durham, was the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. Here was a Student-Volunteer Movement. The combination of industrial with evangelistic agency was proposed, and in fact African missions have almost everywhere largely engaged in industrial training. In 1861 Archdeacon Mackenzie of Natal was consecrated bishop of the mission, and under Livingstone's guidance began the mission on the southern shore of Lake Shirwa. A colony of released slaves formed its nucleus, but the death of Bishop Mackenzie and the unhealthiness of the climate caused removal to Zanzibar in 1862. As a leverage for future attempts toward the interior the plan of training released slave-children was inaugurated. Bishop Tozer spent ten years of quiet preparation in Zanzibar, assisted by Steere in the education of rescued slaves, the production of dictionaries and grammars and the translation of the Scriptures. In 1871 Stanley, — while an ignorant, and undisciplined reporter, as he afterward acknowledged himself then to have been, — leveled this sneer at these far-sighted and sagacious men: "The bishop in crimson robe and with sacerdotal title, missionary-bishop of Central Africa, — why so named I can not conceive, — has reached the bourne of aspiring priesthood, and is consequently ineffably happy. But this high-church, *very* high-church prelate stalking in robe of office and queerest of head-dresses through the

streets is the most ridiculous sight outside of a clown-show. As a white man I protest solemnly against the absurdity. The king of Dahomé promenading in a European hat with his body naked is a similar picture. Whatever the bishop think of the effect on the minds of the heathen, to the Arabs and Ngwana in U-Nyanyembe he is only an object of supreme ridicule. Most of his pale-faced brothers entertain something of the same opinion. Poor, dear bishop! I would admire and love thee, were it not for this high-churchism in a Zanzibar!" But wisdom is justified of her children, and the result proved that these missionaries knew their business, while the critics did not. In 1875 Bishop Steere opened a station at Magila by means of a colony of released slaves trained by the mission. He also caused a transformation at Zanzibar, for he purchased the slave-market and there built East Africa's first Protestant cathedral. Above its roof of coral a clock given by the Zanzibar ruler strikes oriental time. Steere was a master-builder indeed. Between 1863 and 1882 he translated much of the Old, and all of the New, Testament into Swahili, with dictionaries, *Pilgrim's Progress*, the prayer-book, a primer, stories and theological books, and completed *Isaiah* only before dying. For the purpose of forming stations in the interior a half-way post was founded at Masisi in 1876. Lake Nyasa was regained in 1879 and in 1882, but it was not until 1885, after the purchase of a steamer, that permanent lodgment was effected. This was on Likoma island, now headquarters for the Nyasa mission of the British universities. The work is carried on from four centers: Zanzibar, Magila, the stations on the Ruvuma river and those on Lake Nyasa. The total number of posts is sixteen. In 1898 there were fifty-eight English clergy-

men, laymen and women and ninety-three native workers, among these being African ministers and native teachers or readers. About five hundred children were supported, and several hundred other Africans were under the care of the missions. The work cost $85,000 in 1888. The funds are sent to the bishop himself and managed by him. The mission represents the sacramentarian sect of the Anglican communion, celibacy being an essential qualification, but mechanics, priests and teachers are held in equal honor. No missionary receives any remuneration except board, clothing and necessary expenses. Smythies, chosen successor to Steere, proved the needed leader, for in four years he doubled the staff and developed the whole work wisely. He saw a theological seminary founded and a mission-hospital. Three hundred workers have within forty years rendered stalwart service, and nearly seventy have fallen in harness, Smythies dying at sea in 1894, Maples being drowned in Lake Nyasa in 1896.*

It is not quite feasible to follow the career of the Church Missionary Society for Africa in its order of events. But the larger developments east and west synchronize so nearly that we may group them as West African and East African missions. Sierra Leone and Egypt, Yariba and Abyssinia, Lagos and Mauritius, the Niger and Mombaz, Sudan and Uganda form the almost simultaneous strophes and antistrophes in its missionary hymn of prayer and toil and praise on the sunset and sunrise slopes of the continent.

The Church Society and the Gospel-Propagation Society ought to exchange names. The former strives for the expansion of Christianity through the propaga-

*See Johnston (*British Central Africa*, p. 201) for interesting details. *Chauncy Maples*, by his sister, should be consulted especially.

tion of the gospel; the latter for the enlargement of the Anglican establishment through transplanting the church. The Society for Africa was founded by evangelical Anglicans assisted by Independents*; the Gospel-Society, in whatever spirit or by whatever party organized, is an example of ecclesiastical caste. The younger organization has treated Protestant churches and societies with Christian fellowship, and in 1894 had twenty-five thousand members, six thousand of whom constituted its committee; the older society has harassed non-ritualistic denominations, and had a membership of only fifty-five hundred with a committee of but three hundred. The Church Society is the imperial mission-society of the world, but the rising tide of ritualism in the Anglican church is causing far the greater number of auxiliaries to associate themselves with the Propagation-Society†.

In 1816 Sierra Leone was made a basis; in 1862 the first native church that it had been the privilege of the Church of England to plant in Africa entered upon its first year of independent existence. Then Sierra Leone was a heathen land, where barbarism, immorality and superstition reigned supreme; to-day the land is filled with places of worship, and more than half the population is Christian. In fact, the African labors of the society began in West Africa in 1804. Looking upon Africa as "one universal den of desolation, misery and crime", and pitying the Negro for the cruel wrongs inflicted by the slave-trade, this society, which Mackay of

*Charles Hole in his *Early History of the Church Missionary Society* seems to authorize the statement that Congregationalists were among its founders.

†At a meeting of the Church Missionary Society the bishop of Newcastle gave the following tribute to American missionaries in India: "If the rate of missionary progress during the next century in India is what it has been for the past twenty years, India will mainly owe its Christianity not to the Church of England, whose responsibility is really greater, but to American Christians, who are realizing more than we churchmen what evangelizing a great country means".

Uganda justly characterized in 1874 as the greatest missionary society in the world, selected the Christian slave-field as its first mission-field. The Susu country being a center of European slave-stealers was chosen. Missions had before been attempted by the Baptist, Glasgow, London, "Moravian" and Scottish Societies, but all had been given up and there was not a genuine missionary in West Africa. The society equipped its missionaries with books in Susu, and entered on its labors at Pongo River. A few years later a missionary settlement was opened for the Bulloms opposite Sierra Leone. In 1817 slave-traders instigated the burning of the mission-buildings, and compelled the retreat of the missionaries into Sierra Leone. The Bullom mission was resumed in 1861, and transferred in 1875 to the native church, which also cares for the society's missions, founded in 1863, in Sherbro and the Mendi districts. In 1816 Bickersteth baptized his first African converts; but his main work was the division of Sierra Leone into parishes and the provision of churches and schools. The society supplied missionaries and teachers, and the government defrayed part of the cost of instruction for the liberated slaves. Within three years a marked change came over the colony. More than to any other one man this was due to W. A. B. Johnson. He chose Sierra Leone as the most difficult and dangerous field within his grasp, and inspired passionate love in the baptized ex-slaves. Multitudes of them took the name of their spiritual father, and to-day it is borne by many of the ablest of the African race. His triumphs excel the actual success of Xavier*.

By 1826 the great mortality among European missionaries proved the necessity of native agency. Fourah

*Dr A. T. Pierson has compiled a glowing biographical sketch of Johnson.

Bay College was started (1827), and, prophetic omen! the first name on its roll was that of Samuel Crowther*. The society foresaw very early that the time would come when the native church must be self-governing, self-supporting and self-extending. From the first it trained the converts for that object, and expected them to support their own ordinances. The native Christians voluntarily (1840) established an auxiliary to the society, and sent home nearly $450 the first year, while at the same time supporting the elementary schools in the parishes. Chiefly at the instance of the society the diocese of Sierra Leone was erected in 1852, and in 1862 the church passed formally from a missionary state into a settled ecclesiastical establishment under the direct oversight of its own bishop. Several of the society's missions in West Africa are now carried on by the Sierra Leone Church Missions, a native society established in 1875. Individual members show great liberality. A revival in 1890 became the turning-point in the spiritual life of their churches.

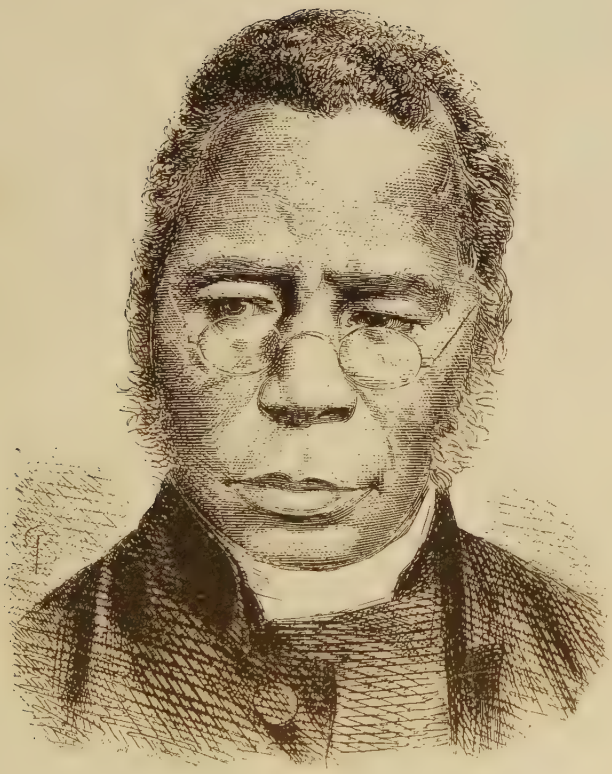
In 1846 Samuel Crowther, a freed slave born in Yariba, entered Abeokuta in company with the missionary who at the request of its few Christian residents had visited this Negro Nineveh three years before. The slave-dealer had opened the road for the gospel of freedom. This Yariba mission began with great promise. Rapid progress was made. Mrs. Anna Hinderer sacrificed herself to this field for seventeen years, so charming the Negro women that they almost worshiped her, and inspiring heroism in her converts. Persecution was bravely borne. The converts steadily increased. Despite Dahoman invasions and civil wars the work prospered until 1867. Then the people expelled the mission-

*See *Samuel Crowther*, by Jesse Page, for biographical details.

aries, not because Christians but because Englishmen, and for years no white man was allowed in Abeokuta. The native Christians, however, only held together and increased. After entrance was again granted to Europeans, a missionary has generally resided there, but the once extensive and promising work in the interior has been much curtailed. Rumors of French attempts to "protect" Abeokuta cause solicitude for the future of this mission. The Egba have a strong feeling against any French connection. Once, indeed, they ordered the expulsion of all papal priests, but revoked the decree. The profuse use of gin and rum is another and enormous hindrance. Recently large reinforcements were sent, and Abeokuta is now occupied more strongly than ever.

At Lagos has sprung up another flourishing native church, founded in 1852 and showing more missionary spirit than its sister of Sierra Leone. One of the serious features in its situation is Muhammadan opposition. Beside six churches in Lagos, there is a pastoral organization independent of the Church Missionary Society and comprising four parishes. Other points on the coast and elsewhere are still connected with the society, which also retains the supervision of the educational institutions at Lagos.

In response to the appeal of the society Palmerston in 1857 sent a third expedition to ascend the Niger. This enabled the society to start its Niger mission, which had been planned as early as 1852. Taught by the mortality among European missionaries along the western coast, the society resolved to conduct the new mission chiefly through native agency. So Crowther accompanied every expedition, but not till 1872 did the repeated attempts to found a Christian church on the



BISHOP SAMUEL ADJAI CROWTHER

great river meet with any kind or measure of real success. Converts were baptized in 1862. Crowther was consecrated bishop of the Niger in 1864 at Canterbury cathedral, the shrine of English Christianity, where, nearly a millennium and a half before, Augustine and his fellow-missionaries to the Saxon heathen had resided. Soon after Crowther returned as bishop, the missions in the delta were begun. It was, however, 1872 before baptisms occurred. Then persecution broke out violently and lasted four years. When the edict against Christianity was withdrawn (1878), the church suddenly became crowded. Large numbers have since professed the faith. The society has since 1888 received all the former objects of pagan worship at Bonny, including the brazen iguanas from the idol-factory at Birmingham, England. This sends to Africa, often in the same ship that carries the missionaries, large numbers of images for pagan worship. Other stations were opened on the river from the delta to the Binwe, but many difficulties beset them, such as the European liquor-traffic and the moral scum of civilization. The native pastors and teachers did not always withstand the evils of their environment, and some of them discredited Christianity. The measure of success that has actually crowned this mission is the more remarkable on account of its having had to work under exceptional disadvantages. During 1890 the work expanded greatly, and was divided into a northern and a southern section. The former constitutes the mission to Sudan and the middle Niger, that reach of the river between Timbuktu and the Binwe, and devotes itself principally to the Muhammadan peoples speaking the Hausa and Nupe languages. But the river was closed as a route against missionaries for Gandu and Sokotu by the English chartered company. Its treaties

with Sudanese Muhammadans bind it to give no facilities for missionaries to Islam. In 1893 it refused passage on its steamers to two pioneers of the Central Sudan mission, though it would have helped to support them if they had pledged themselves to confine their efforts to pagans on the lower Niger*. Yet some Muhammadan chiefs accord a friendly reception to Christian missionaries, and the newest aggressive action inaugurated by the soldiers of the cross comes on the middle Niger. The opening among the Basa (twelve miles from Lokoja) is regarded as very hopeful. The Akpoto, the Hausa and the Nupe are requesting missionaries, but the needed recruits can not be obtained. The southern division forms the mission to the lower Niger and its delta, and is mainly directed to the evangelization of the pagan populations. Crowther frequently urged having European missionaries labor side by side with their African brothers. He hoped that thus the latter might be led to more vigorous and spiritual methods. The Delta Pastorate, a Negro organization founded by him, promises well for native missions. In West Africa at large the prospects of Anglican missions are bright and cheering, but it is by Africans themselves ultimately that the gospel must be proclaimed through tropical Africa.

Africa gave occasion for the origin of the Church Missionary Society. It also furnished the starting-point for the society's work in the east. In 1815 the first English clergyman and university graduate to offer himself for its service was sent to Egypt to confer with the ecclesiastical authorities of the Koptic church. This was the beginning of the Mediterranean mission, that aimed to carry the gospel to the churches of the east and to Muhammadans. As a whole the enterprise failed, but

**The Missionary Review of the World*, v. 8, No. 1 (Jan. 1895), p. 61.

the finding of a translation of the Scriptures in the vernacular of Abyssinia led to the founding of the Abyssinian mission in 1830. Here Maria Gobat, wife of the noble bishop of Jerusalem (1846-79) rendered invaluable service during the husband's missionary career in Ethiopia and Malta. The work began with bright prospects, but Jesuit intrigues aroused the old suspicions of foreign interference, and in 1838 every European was expelled. Krapf went to Shoa, where he was kindly received by its king and spent three years. He became providentially interested in the Galla, whose reach extends almost to Mombaz. When excluded from Shoa in 1843 through papal influences, he settled at Mombaz as a base for Christian missions among the Galla. Though the society's missionaries had been expelled from Abyssinia, and were kept in check at its borders by French and Jesuit intrigues, the work went on. One of these Protestant converts became prime-minister of Prince Kasai in 1844, and for twenty years kept Abyssinia peaceful. When Theodore in 1859 again expelled the Jesuits, the Anglican society's representative received permission to send lay-missionaries to teach the arts of civilization. The war with Britain resulted in closing Abyssinia from 1868 to 1890 against missionary effort. Meanwhile at Cairo, Archbishop Whately's daughter (1860) opened a school for neglected Muslim girls, almost the first of its kind in Egypt. About 1863 she opened a boys' school, and in 1879 added a medical mission, building a dispensary and waiting-room from her own means. A few years ago the society sent missionaries, one of them a physician, to work solely among the Muhammadans of Cairo, and in 1889 assumed general charge of Whately School and Hospital. It is worth noting that the latter was then superintended by a Syrian doctor. The Egyptian capital

is also the site of Gordon College, an Anglican institution for higher education.

Arabia and Mauritius also fall within the African missions of the society. Malta, too, though one hundred and twenty-two miles nearer Sicily than Tunis, must be reckoned with them, for the bulk of the native population (about 170,000) is Punic in race and speaks a dialect supposed by some to be derived from Shemitic sources, while from 1815 it was a base for the issuance of Abyssinian, Arabic and Maltese mission-literature and the training of African missionaries. In connection with its Mauritian mission for Hindi coolies, dating from 1856, a mission for liberated Africans has been opened in the Seychelles, British islets about five hundred miles east of Zanzibar. The importance of these two tiny fields arises from the Hindi being a factor in the Christianization of Africa. Tinnevelly has native evangelists preaching to the heathen in Mauritius and South Africa. The significance of the Arabian mission springs from similar sources. It began as a medical mission at Aden in 1886, and though political and other difficulties oblige the work to be done from Egypt, Aden will yet become a fulcrum for Christian missions across the gulf in British Somalia.

In 1844 Krapf the German Lutheran, who ranks with Livingstone and Moffat, compelled to abandon his persevering attempts to plant the gospel in Abyssinia, landed, the victim of shipwreck, at Mombaz, about one hundred and twenty miles north of Zanzibar. The Muhammadan ruler endorsed him as "a good man who wished to convert the world to God". Within six months he buried his wife and new-born babe, and wrote home: "Tell our friends you have a grave now in East Africa, and are therefore summoned to the conversion of

Africa from its eastern shore". In 1846 Rebmann joined him, and the recovery of Africa began. The discoveries of the last forty years started with them, for they were the earliest explorers of Africa from its eastern side. In 1848 Rebmann discovered Kilima-Njaro, thus taking the first great forward step in unveiling Central Africa, and wrote: "Perhaps it is reserved for the C. M. S. to penetrate the mystery over the central regions". Krapf sighted Kenia in 1849, but it was not until this year that Livingstone made his first important journey. It was partly in consequence of these discoveries that Livingstone did the marvelous work of later days. Influenced by Krapf's enthusiasm, the society formed large plans for occupying Central Africa, and in 1851 an attempt was made but failed*. For twenty-nine years (1846-74) Rebmann held the post without one furlough. In 1875 Stanley visited Mtesa of Uganda. The king inquired politely about the health of Queen Victoria and the German emperor. Then he put the question: "What tidings can you bring me from above?" The explorer was not an expert in such inquiries, but he declared that the New Testament contained the only answer man would ever receive to that momentous question. He gave the king a copy, and challenged Christendom to send missionaries. But before his clarion call rang out, the society was already on the move for the interior. Three days after the publication of his letter, his challenge was accepted. Rebmann, blind and white-haired, knew that God had granted his heart's desire and that the heart of Africa was open from the east. Four months

*Consult Ashe in *Chronicles of U-Ganda* and *Two Kings;* the *Church Missionary Atlas* and the *Church Missionary Intelligencer;* Dawson's *James Hannington;* Lugard in *The Rise of Our East African Empire; Mackay of U-Ganda,* "by his sister"; Stanley's *In Darkest Africa* and *Through the Dark Continent;* and Stock in *The Story of U-Ganda. The Independent* for May 5th, 1898, (vol. 50, no. 2579, pp. 1-17) may also be consulted.

before his death the first missionaries for Uganda left England, among them Mackay whom Stanley characterizes as "the best missionary since Livingstone", and Krapf lived to see Uganda and the Kongo occupied. Both saw little direct result of their pioneering, but the indirect outcome proved immeasurable. Meanwhile the society had been developing the work at Mombaz (1873-75). The first step was to found Freretown, close to the grave of Rosina Krapf, as the headquarters of an industrial colony, where freed slaves have been trained and much success obtained. Several colonists have moved to the more fertile district of Kisulutini (Rabai), and remarkable progress is made. Such stations as Mpwapwa and Mamboia flourish and show Christian congregations. Today the need for a settlement of freedmen is passing. Soon Mombaz will be the center again instead of Freretown.

It is now twenty-one years since the first missionary presented himself to Mtesa. To tell the story of the intervening years is needless. The world knows it by heart. Smith, Parker, Hannington, Pilkington and, above all, Mackay the Scotch Presbyterian, the unordained lay-missionary, stand out as bright and undying names*. Though Mtesa proved a hypocrite and remained a pagan; though France and Rome, with full knowledge that British Protestants had preëmpted this sphere of spiritual influence, sent politico-religious agents to annex Uganda to the colonial empire of the former and to the papal see; though the heathen raged and Islam persecuted and a French missioner, after the

*Mackay's sister, in her biography, nowhere speaks of her brother as having ever left the Presbyterian church or having received any ordination. Grant, the companion of Speke (1859-63), exclaimed: "A score of us would never make a Mackay". Jephson, the Bayard of the expedition for the rescue of Emin, not unnaturally forgot that though the workman falls the work advances, and declared Mackay's "death an irreparable loss".

native power professed to be a Christian government, declared unceasing war with Protestants; and though disease or death removed man after man; — yet throughout all, through the ebb and flow of failure or success, through evil report and good report, the work of God moved forward by divine momentum; and the martyr church grew from more to more; and the plans of schemers or statesmen promoted the purposes of Providence; and God within His darkness kept watch and ward above His own. Stanley acknowledges that though missionaries had to bore deep, the results are marvelous and permanent. At Christmas 1892 five thousand natives attended church-service. There has been wonderful literary inquisitiveness, the people willingly giving fabulous prices for books and reading-sheets, and one hundred thousand now learning to read and write. The native church has grown from a largely nominal Christianity into active religious life, and has native councils, a hospital, monthly mission-meetings and women's work. The Anglicans number thirteen thousand, of whom twenty-seven hundred are communicants. This yields prospects of a brilliant future as evangelization expands. They have built twenty-seven large and four hundred small churches, and have the whole Bible in their mother-tongue. The character of the people justifies the expectation that bands of Ganda evangelists will soon become Gospel-messengers throughout equatorial Africa. Seven hundred native laborers, all supported by native contributions, are already in the field. It is intended to secure more, and to have each hundred alternate between three months of evangelization and three of study. If the plan prove practicable, it will finally result in the Ganda church pushing northeast into the Galla country, down the Nile, into Belgian Kongo

and toward Lake Tanganika. However this be, the Ugandan work of the society stands on so solid a foundation that women as well as men can now participate. The society has sent married couples and unmarried women. Even the hitherto necessary restrictions against missionaries in Uganda marrying can be removed in 1899.

Uganda is the crown of the Church Missionary Society's African career. It is the climax of the campaign that began at the mouth of the Nile on the Egyptian shore of the salt Mediterranean, touched the mountain heights of Abyssinia, rested on the African coast of the Indian Ocean, and near the sources of the Nile remains victorious between the equatorial sweet-water seas of the far interior. Posts have also been planted between the east coast and Lake Victoria. The Church Society, the world's imperial mission-society, has accomplished much elsewhere; but nowhere does its achievement tell so vitally for Christian civilization as in Uganda. The very gifts and weaknesses of the people, the constant clash of races and religions, the strategic situation at the vast Nile-reservoir and between Europeans, Hamites and Negroes — these factors make Uganda a focus of forces and must crowd its future with continually recurring crises. The Church Society, however, has laid the foundations broad and deep and sure, and the house is established on a rock. The society may yet realize the dream of Krapf and Mackay, and its stations link Freretown in the extreme east to Freetown in the furthest west by a chain of missions across Africa.

CHAPTER 7

1810–98

BAPTIST CHURCHES AS AFRICAN MISSIONARIES

John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Spirit.
Jesus the Christ

CHIEF AGENTS. MINOR AGENCIES. AMERICAN BAPTISTS AND LIBERIA. BAPTISTS OF THE NORTHERN UNITED STATES ON THE KONGO. BAPTISTS OF THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES. ENGLISH BAPTISTS IN THE ANTILLES. CAREY'S FRIENDS IN AFRICA. FROM KAMERÛN TO KONGO. THE AFRICAN ACHIEVEMENT OF THE BAPTIST.

Baptist mission-agencies for Africa number twenty-four, the chief work being accomplished by the American Baptist, north and south, and by the English Calvinist Baptist. A praiseworthy and significant feature is the activity of the Negro Baptist. Beginning with this, we group minor organizations together and close with the larger work of stronger, wealthier churches.

The Foreign Mission-Convention of colored American Baptists entered Africa in 1884, though a representative of the Negro Baptists of Virginia had labored in Yariba five years before. The work is known as the Baptist Veh mission. The Liberian government bestowed land, and the plant is quite extensive. Medical missions and native preaching are among the agencies employed, while the Convention also publishes *African Missions*. The General Association of the colored Baptists in the interior of the United States and in the west established a mission on the Kongo in 1885. Next year it began to work with the American Baptist Missionary Union. The

Association appoints its own missionaries, determines their salaries and raises funds, but all subject to the approval of the Union, through which, too, the Association carries on transactions with the mission. The Association largely devotes itself to itinerant preaching among the villages around a central station and to a medical mission. The Baptist Union of South Africa has seven missionaries and three thousand members. The Consolidated Convention when formed (1840) included all northern Negro Baptists of the United States. It sent missionaries to Africa, but was unable to hold the field. Since 1872 it has worked only in Haiti. Several Seventh-Day Baptists are at Kongo-mouth. The Jamaica Missionary Union (colored) sustains missions among the colored populations of the West Indies and Central America. A British society aids Baptist missions in Jamaica and South Africa among other fields by free grants of handbills, books and tracts. These either scatter the views of believers in close communion, or publish works of general religious literature, or spread the knowledge of the Scriptures. The Bible Translation Society of England is another Baptist auxiliary of similar functions and methods. Its work and that of all other Bible societies are best considered elsewhere. Other British Baptists (independent?) intrude with an industrial mission into Blantyre. The Woman's Missionary Society of the northern Baptists in America sent their first missionaries to the Kongo in 1887. Those at one station are sheltering the nucleus of a girls' home. The Woman's Missionary Union of the southern American Baptists aids the Board in Africa and Cuba. The Young Men's Missionary Association of London — not to be confused with the Young Men's Missionary Society of Birmingham — is represented by its members in the

African missions of the Calvinist or Particular Baptists of England.

The American Baptists were very early willing to aid a society of Negro Baptists in founding a mission in the neighborhood of Liberia. In 1821, in response to the request of the American Colonization Society, then settling Negro colonists on the Grain Coast, the National Foreign Missionary Society of the white Baptists recognized as its missionaries two colored men sent to Liberia by the Colonization Society. These, presumably, were appointees of the Negro missionary society mentioned above, colored preachers who had been ordained and assisted by the triennial mission-convention of their white brethren. If so, the glory of initiating the African work of American Baptists belongs to Baptist black Americans, though white Baptists — not Episcopalians — sent the first white missionary to Liberia. The First Baptist Church of Monrovia was constituted in 1823, and from 1830 to 1855 there was marked progress among the American colonists and immigrants in the elements of civilized and Christian life. Up to 1836, however, not a single heathen had been converted. Then the sole survivor of the Baptist white missionaries began the evangelization of the pagan Bassa. The success was such that from 1847 to 1853 the mission was carried by Bassa converts. The society at home suspended it in 1856; during the American rebellion it also suspended its remaining Liberian missions. Though the society has since had no missionaries among the Bassa, the Baptist Liberian Convention (colored) has founded a self-supporting industrial high-school near Monrovia for native Africans, which, aided by women's missionary societies, works among these.

In 1884 the northern Baptists of America accepted

Livingstone Inland Mission from its British promoters. Grandly have they, in the judgment of such a southern Baptist as Dr Tupper, carried the work. Yet on the very day of acceptance a ship sailed from Boston with two hundred thousand gallons of New England rum for the Kongo, and the liquor-traffic has remained the chief among several sources of difficulty. The results, though seemingly small — for communicants number only about two thousand, are encouraging and full of promise, self-support on the part of native Christians being notable, while it is believed that, now the railroad is completed around Livingstone cataracts, great results will be achieved. Stations have been opened above Stanley Pool, and land secured at Stanley Falls one thousand miles from the Atlantic. Equator station is of great importance, and gives promise of the most gratifying success, while British friends furnish men and money to advance to Stanley Falls. Stanley himself while founding Belgian Kongo (1879-84) uttered the following judgment on Christian missions along the river: "Pious missionaries have devotedly set forth to instil the sacred germs of religion into the dull, mindless tribes; but the material difficulties are so great that the progress made bears no proportion to the courage and zeal exhibited."

In 1845 the Baptists of Alabama demanded an "explicit avowal that slave-holders were eligible and equally entitled with non-slave-holders to appointment as missionaries." The society replied that "if any one having slaves should offer himself as a missionary, and insist on retaining them, it could not appoint him. It could never be a party to any arrangement implying approbation of slavery." The southern Baptists organized a new society. The northern Baptists re-organized

the old one as the American Baptist Missionary Union. The Southern Baptist Convention commenced its African work by opening stations in Liberia in 1847; Central Africa in 1850; and Sierra Leone in 1855. This was in connection with the Liberian mission, which was fancied to be a field of great promise. From 1860 to 1864 the intertribal brawls of the Yariba compelled the withdrawal of the missionaries to the coast. From 1866 to 1874 they continued to toil without aid from home, entering Liberia again in 1871. The missions were now held as outposts whence to advance into the interior, and again gain access to Yariba, but the missionaries were in 1873 expelled from the Beir district. The Liberian Baptists having largely become independent, and Yariba being now open for missions, the Liberian mission was closed in 1875, Lagos chosen as the base for carrying the holy war into inner Africa, and Yariba occupied anew.

About 1810 Lisle, a Negro Baptist of Georgia, formed congregations of slaves in Jamaica. In 1813 by the advice of Wilberforce the emancipator English Baptists entered upon mission-work among the colored populations of the West Indies. This they did by taking up the task of the Georgia Negro, and with such effectiveness that in 1831, the year of the slave-rebellion, the Negro Baptists of Jamaica included ten thousand, eight hundred and thirty-eight communicants. Next year one of their missionaries proclaimed that slavery must cease. His declaration met with a hearty response from the Baptist churches of Britain, and aided materially in causing the abolition of slavery two years later throughout the empire. The Jamaican churches so increased that in 1842 they declared themselves independent of the funds of the British society, but the latter still maintains Cala-

bar college, and continues its work among the Negroes of other islands.

Evidence for spiritual life among the black Baptists of the Antilles is afforded by their eagerness to send Christianity to the dark homes of their fathers. This is why from 1842 to 1882 the Calvinistic British Baptists, whose attempt in 1795 to enter Africa failed, also had a flourishing and hopeful mission in West Africa. As soon as slavery was abolished, the missionary purpose of the emancipated Negroes grew into shape. Generous contributions were offered. Finally the British Baptists resolved to imitate the effort. A missionary from Jamaica and a medical practitioner were sent to Fernando Po, a Spanish islet at the corner of the Gulf of Guinea. Saker, a great industrial missionary, was also a master in the science of language, and translated the New Testament into Dualla. Though after a while hostile machinations compelled the restriction of operations to the mainland, the islanders had been taught the arts of civilized life. During twenty years of spiritual isolation at least a few remained genuine Christians. Victoria was founded in 1860 at the foot of the Kamerûn mountains, and plans devised for penetrating the interior. The effect produced may be inferred from the confession of an unnamed English traveler pretending to no personal regard for Christianity, to no sympathy with missions: "I do not at all understand how the changes at Kamerûn and Victoria have been brought about. Sanguinary customs have been to a large extent abolished. Witchcraft hides itself in the forest. The fetich superstition is derided by old and young. Well-built houses are springing up on every hand. It is marvelous to mark the change". There appeared the fairest hope that even after the colored pastors and the British had died, the

little colony would not only remain a prosperous Christian community but be a fountain of light and life to regions beyond. Between 1880 and 1882, however, German colonizations bred unimaginable difficulties and compelled the ultimate relinquishment of this field to German missionaries. Cust asserts that the substitution of these was due solely to the fact that Kamerûn became a German possession, and that the expulsion of the British was a distinct and shameful breach of the recognized law of missions. Schreiber, a director of a German mission-society, declares that he does "not feel at all certain that they did not choose of their own accord to leave. The Basel Society has met with very friendly treatment and even with many valuable encouragements from the German government as well as from the leaders of the colonial companies".

The native Baptist church still maintains independent existence, though deprived of British support, and puts forth aggressive activity. Its members made the bricks and erected the building, and maintain many outposts.

In 1877 the British Baptists founded Arthington mission, their second African mission. This is in the former Kongo kingdom, which had fallen back from Portuguese Christianity into paganism. The missionaries went to San Salvador and thence to Stanley Pool. Stations have been formed above this point as well as below, the remotest settlement being a thousand miles up-stream from the Atlantic, but of sixty-three missionaries one third died. Recruits only pressed forward the faster, and now that health-conditions are better understood the excessive mortality is a thing of the past. In 1883, while at Leopoldville, Stanley wrote: "Mr Comber presides over the Baptist mission, and Dr Sims is chief of the [then] undenominational Livingstone mis-

sion. Both have been remarkably energetic. Both have especially distinguished themselves for zeal in looking after the important interests entrusted to their charge. It has been a well-contested race to the great goal. The Baptists were the first at Stanley Pool; Dr Sims was the first to navigate the upper Kongo. The Baptists were the first to occupy a station above the Pool, but Livingstone mission arranged soon after for a station at the equator. The Baptists were the first to launch a steamer; but Livingstone mission was building its steamer at the date the other was launched. It has been a singular religious duel. Both chiefs have alternately gained the advance post, and exhibited remarkable aptitudes. When and where this unique race will end no one knows. So long as these missions are supported, it will be continued till the Kongo basin has been won to the Christian fold. Meanwhile the author wishes the leaders in this daring spiritual campaign against moral darkness still more wisdom, light, renewed courage and abundant success. They have passed through dark days and been sorely afflicted; but each month the horizon has cleared, and the prospect is infinitely brighter than they could have anticipated".

This hopefulness has been justified, but the coming battle in Kongo will be between the Bible and the bottle. The completion of the railroad around Livingstone Falls will enable rum to flow up the middle or upper Kongo as freely as it is now injuring the lower valley.* The British Baptists have mastered four of the Kongo languages, employ medical missions as well as education and evangelism, and look forward to advancing up the Mobangi-Welle into Central Sudan. The *Baptist Missionary*

* Of course it is claimed by interested officials that the laws against alcoholic drinks passing beyond Kwilu River are strictly enforced.

THE REVEREND GEORGE GRENFELL, F. R. G. S., M. D.

Magazine for May, 1897, stated that men are beginning to help women in field-work, which hitherto they have held to be degrading. This may seem a trifle, but to the well-informed it is a very significant proof of the healthful social change which Christianity is bringing to pass. The American Baptists have carried Livingstone mission with such effectiveness that Banza Manteke is known the world around as the scene of a Pentecost on the Kongo, and a missionary said that he would not have his converts see the degenerate Christianity of the United States. The commissioners of the recent Kongoan exposition at Brussels affirm that "Protestant missions have accomplished much, and in several localities their influence is a factor of real weight". When Stanley was, about 1890, asked whether "with all his experience he considered missionary effort a real success," his eyes flashed and he instantly replied: "Yes! I'm as certain of it as that I sit here talking. I am perfectly convinced that the work of missionaries is successful. Considering the country where they 've been at work and considering that the people were rum-drinking savages accustomed to rob, defraud and murder whenever possible, missions on the Kongo can to-day be shown as something marvelous!"

CHAPTER 8

1796 = 1898

CONGREGATIONAL DENOMINATIONS AND AFRICAN MISSIONS

We seem immortal till our work is done.
David Livingstone

CONGREGATIONALISM AND AFRICA. MINOR CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONS. THE AMERICAN BOARD. THE LONDON SOCIETY. IN SOUTH AFRICA. ON LAKE TANGANIKA. IN MADAGASCAR. ENVIRONMENT OF MALAGASI MISSIONS. THE PEOPLE. THEIR CHARACTER. MALAGASI CULTURE. THE LANGUAGE. COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY. HISTORICAL SKETCH. RELIGION. THE CONGREGATIONAL MISSION. ENTRANCE. PERSECUTION. PROGRESS. RESULTS. LIVINGSTONE THE MISSIONARY: WHAT HE DID.

If Congregationalism were second to any communion as an African evangelist, it need yield the primacy only to English Episcopacy. *The Church Missionary Intelligencer*, the organ of the world's greatest evangelical mission-society, says of the London Missionary Society: "No society has had greater men or been permitted to do grander work. First in the South Seas, first in China, first in Madagascar, first in New Guinea and with by far the largest number of adherents among all societies, it deserves to be honored. Although by its constitution undenominational, it is supported almost exclusively by Congregationalists. Relatively to numbers, influence and wealth they put us church-men to shame*". The

*The Anglican church numbers 1,778,351 communicants, the British Congregationalists only 406,716 communicants. The Baptist communicants are 316,569 in number, the Methodists 529,786. Six other denominations aggregate 554,652. The established church has 30,000 fewer communicants than the free churches, and is not the church of the English people.

American Board has received endorsement from the same journal as "one of the best-managed societies in the world", and its high authority is cited in support of a specific preference of the Church Missionary Society. English Congregationalists attempted African missions eight years before the Anglican society sent its first missionary, and aided evangelical church-men to found a society for missions. American Congregationalism anticipated the other Anglican society as a genuine missionary to Africa by thirteen years. Scotch Congregationalism bestowed Livingstone upon the world*, — Scotia's greater St David, the apostle of Africa, the earthly author of its mundane apocalypse. Moffat won Livingstone for African missions, and Livingstone secured Stanley for Africa. Congregational agencies for evangelizing Africa number twenty-one. When the Disciples enter, as they are doing, the number will be twenty-two. To many it will seem as if Congregational success equals that of Anglicans. A few would go so far as to maintain that in Livingstone and through his agency the African achievement of British Congregationalism outweighs that of all other churches.

The American Missionary Association, — an organization distinct from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, though the fact that both are Congregational societies and are often mentioned colloquially as the Association and the Board constantly leads to confusion, — sustained a mission from 1841 to 1883 among the Mendi-speaking peoples of Sierra Leone. The work succeeded to the full measure of its little sphere, but the mission of the Association among the southern Negroes of the United States led it to enough black men to people thirty Sierra Leones. Accordingly it withdrew

*Blaikie, *Personal Life of Livingstone*, pp. 19 and 24.

in favor of the United Brethren, a Methodistic body in Ohio. The Canadian Missionary Society entered Africa in 1886 at Bailundu in the Benguelan province of Angola. Its workers and results are statisticized among those of the American Board. The Woman's Board of the Canadian Congregationalists raises funds for their missions and supports its own woman-missionary. The Colonial Missionary Society of England aids or sustains churches in South Africa, and has recently added strictly missionary effort among the Transvaal natives. The Congregational Union of Madagascar sustains a missionary society whose work will be described in connection with Malagasi missions. The Congregational Union of South Africa (1888) supports the former Kafrarian mission of the London Society, and includes over seventy thousand members. The Free Churches of Norway and Sweden are Congregational in principles and practice. The Free Church of Norway has a Zulu mission (1889) still so young as only to require mention. The Kongo Children's Friends assist the Swedish Mission-Union to educate the children of the natives at its stations. The Scandinavian Alliance Mission is an organization of Norse and Swedish Congregationalists in America, and sustains an African mission. The Swedish Mission-Union began work on the Kongo in 1881, and for a while toiled hand-in-hand with Livingstone Inland Mission, but now has independent stations. It entered among the Jews of Algeria in 1887. The Swedish Women's Mission has also (since 1887) sent female missionaries among the Algerian daughters of Islam. The Countess of Huntingdon Connexion, an English body of Methodist origin through Whitefield but Congregational in polity, sustains a small mission in Sierra Leone. Under their Ladies' Committee the London Society selects and sustains fe-

male missionaries for Madagascar, and has girls' boarding-schools where much attention is paid to house-keeping and sewing. The Woman's Boards of the American Congregationalists comprise four distinct and independent organizations, exclusive of their thousands of female auxiliary societies. Three Woman's Boards co-operate with the American Board in Africa. They work specially for the benefit of women and children, giving their first strength to schools and colleges, though by no means to the neglect of industrial training, and sending female missionaries whom they themselves select and support.

From the lesser bodies we pass to the American Board and the London Society. As British Congregationalists were the pioneers and have achieved far greater results, this chapter ends with their work.

American Congregationalists entered Africa in 1834, (though in 1812 Mr. and Mrs. Newell had endeavored in behalf of the American Board to establish a mission in Madagascar and Mauritius), when the anti-slavery sentiment was moving Christian hearts. From the first they assigned a foremost place to schools, especially to schools where natives may be trained as teachers and preachers for their people. These schools naturally became centers of missionary labor and Christian enlightenment. The work opened simultaneously in Liberia and Natal, the latter being the first Zulu mission of any organized society.

The Liberian mission decided on Cape Palmas as a favorable location, but found the Guinea Negroes fearfully degraded. The hope of penetrating the interior was not realized. The response of the natives was less prompt. Retrenchment in 1837 discouraged the Negroes, and impaired confidence. Native agency was slow to

develop. Then followed an inimical French occupation and all the abominations of foreign trade with Africa till the attitude of a colony from Maryland compelled removal to Gabun (1842). The new location put the mission in touch with nobler races. The field has ever been a heroic mission. During the fifties it flamed with seraphic zeal. During the civil war in America it went down like dying fire to white ashes, but the coals were preserved alive against the time when favoring breezes should blow. When the northern Presbyterians of the United States formed their board of missions, the American Board transferred the Gabun field with its entire force (1870). Though the work in West Africa had been prosecuted in the most adverse circumstances, it had by no means been in vain.

To establish missions among the Zulu, six married missionaries, including two physicians, founded a maritime station in Natal and attempted to plant an inland post in the western region ruled by Umzilikatzi. This plan of communicating missions, one mainly a seminary and training center, the other a gateway to the interior, has never been lost sight of. Though the Dutch rendered it impossible to maintain the inland station, the forward movement to Gazaland is its fulfilment to-day. The field was a narrow one, and it was felt from the beginning that a community must be trained for sending Zulu missionaries into other Zulu-speaking lands to evangelize the interior. Despite initial interruptions the work has won marked success. The results include a native church-body with native pastors and evangelists; a theological seminary; schools of every sort; the entire Bible and other Christian literature in Zulu; and a thoroughly trained missionary-physician with a dispensary. A hospital is to be established, and a medical school for

training native physicians. The native agency under missionary supervision is doing good work. The churches contribute liberally. Zulu missionaries have already carried Christianity to the far north. The providential preparation is obvious. Zulu Congregationalism has entered on the new era.

A mission to Central Africa was installed in 1879 near Bihe, Angola. The missionaries easily established friendly relations, though forcibly expelled in 1883 and having much property destroyed. Returning two years later, they have pursued their duties with gratifying success. The field is one of more than usual promise, the population within its sphere numbering one hundred thousand and the language being extensively spoken. The missionaries have already reduced it to writing, translated the Scriptures, organized self-supporting churches, and set a native mission-society at work.

The youngest African mission of the American Board is that founded in 1883 at Inhambani, Portuguese South-East Africa, but now on the Gaza-Mashuna highlands where the British South Africa Company has given it twenty-five thousand acres. The field is partly a foreign one for the Zulu churches, partly a distinct contribution of American Congregationalism. Not a little pioneering, spiritual and secular, has been done. The force moves in and on with high hopes and far-reaching plans*.

If the results of Congregational missions from America to Africa seem few and slight, it should be noted that Mills the Congregational founder of the Board had a hand in important African affairs. He shared largely in

*Am. Board statistics for 1897: African expenditures from the beginning $1,504,058.43; last year $46,307.58; Americans: 16 ordained men; 3 laymen; 19 married women; 19 unmarried women; Negroes: 6 ordained men; 116 laymen; 9 unmarried women; 16 stations; 21 outstations; 223 preaching-places; 28 Sunday-schools with 2213 pupils; 55 common schools with 2795 pupils; 4 higher schools with 263 pupils; 13,245 adherents, including 2201 communicants; 307 additions last year; and native contributions of $4342.

organizing the Colonization Society, the creator of Liberia; and in its behalf he examined the western coast. From Mills, according to Griffin of Williams, came the first impulse toward the American Board; toward an African school under the charge of the New York and New Jersey (Presbyterian) synod; toward the American Bible Society; toward the Colonization Society; toward the advance of home-missions; and toward the United Foreign Missionary Society.

The London Missionary Society joined with the Glasgow and Scottish Societies in attempting the Christian conquest of Sierra Leone (1796). This failed. The capture of Cape Colony called attention to South Africa. The society planted African missions beneath the Southern Cross in 1799. From the first it strove to push beyond the pale of European colonization into the wilds of pagan barbarism. It entered Kafraria at once, only to be soon expelled; and again in 1816, though this attempt had to be suspended after two years. It opened a mission four hundred miles above Cape Town which made the Chwana, Grikwa and Korana known to the Christian world, yet had to be relinquished in 1806. Within the colony it succeeded in establishing a mission where the facility of the scholars in acquiring religious knowledge aroused amazement. It devoted its attention chiefly to the Khoi-Khoin, whom it not only Christianized but saved from extinction. In 1806 it carried the gospel to the Nama, and stationed itself on Orange River. Here and at Kuruman River, where the mission removed in 1820, the difficulties were unutterable. Moffat came in 1818, a move destined in itself and in its ulterior outreach to tell on all Africa. His half-century among the Chwana constitutes one of the religious classics*. The

*Cumming the mighty hunter met with Moffat in 1843, and found nothing except good to tell. "With a noble and athletic frame, he [Moffat] possesses a

arrival of Livingstone and the birth of Stanley, both in 1841, reinforced missions. Moffat; Livingstone, who was in the service of the society from 1840 to 1858; and Mackenzie, who secured the open road along which afterward marched Rhodes the empire-builder, are among the mighty names of missions in South Africa, but their results, though magnificent, are perishing before the colonial drink-traffic with the natives. Afrikaner, Setshele and Khama rank as representative men among native Christians. The desolating, frequent, lengthy wars, for which the colonists and governors were mainly accountable, and the liquor-traffic, which made worse havoc than the musket, presented the greatest obstacles. In 1853 the Boers resolved to close the interior, and ruined Livingstone's mission. He determined to open the country, and reached Linyanti on a southern tributary of the Zambezi, five hundred miles north of Kolobeng. With the sanction of his society he established a mission on the Chobe*. The British Congregationalists indicated the path to the upper Zambezi, though in 1860 they retreated perforce. Tabililand, now Rhodesia, was, however, entered this year, stations being opened at Hope Fountain and Inyati. Umzilikatzi and Loben-

face on which forbearance and Christian charity are very plainly written, and his mental and bodily attainments are great. Minister, gardener, blacksmith, gunsmith, mason, carpenter, glazier — every hour finds this worthy pastor engaged in useful employment, setting a good example, by exemplary piety and industrious habits, for others to do likewise". See chap. 19. pp. 647-56, 673-82.

*Of Livingstone as a missionary Stanley wrote: "To the stern dictates of duty he sacrificed home and ease, the pleasures, refinements and luxuries of civilized life. His was the Spartan heroism, the inflexibility of the Roman, the enduring resolution of the Anglo-Saxon never to relinquish his work, though his heart yearns for home, never to surrender obligations, until he can write *Finis*. . . . His religion is a constant, earnest, sincere practice. Neither aggressive, demonstrative nor loud, it is always at work. It governs his conduct toward all. Without it, Livingstone, with his ardent temperament, enthusiasm, high spirit and courage, must have become uncompanionable and a hard master. . . . From being hated and thwarted in every possible way on his first arrival in U-Jiji, he through uniform kindness and mild, pleasant temper won all hearts. Universal respect was paid. Even the Muhammadans never passed without calling to say: The blessing of Allah rest on you! Each Sunday morning he gathered his little flock; read prayers and a chapter from the Bible in a natural, sincere, unaffected tone; and delivered a short address in Swahili about the subject. . . . Wherever he has gone, he has sought to elevate a people apparently forgotten of God and Christian man".

gula, his successor, permitted the missionaries to work, but forbade their subjects to accept Christianity. The British missionaries were immeasurably aided by the Zulu from Natal, whom the American Congregationalists there had trained with his wife for mission service.

Of the twenty-eight stations established in South Africa by British Congregationalists between 1798 and 1855, seven had been broken up by Kafir wars and African Dutchmen. The influx of white settlers increased the toils of the missionaries, for the difficulties least easily surmounted are those raised not by barbarous but by civilized people. To heathen practices, for the Chwana converts live among pagans, have been added the worst vices of civilization. The society in 1889 surrendered its Kafrarian stations to the Cape Colony Congregational Union, and now works directly only in regions beyond Vaal River*. Here its missions were then in a low state, owing partly to the Chwana having had a poor opinion of education, but chiefly to ignorant and sometimes immoral head-men allowing not a few illiterate and impure people in country villages to become communicants. With the removal of the evil, Chwana missions began to mend.

From the heart of Livingstone at Kalinde (1873) flashed an electric spark†. Not mere explorers, merchants and statesmen alone felt it, but missionaries. If belief had grown feeble and endeavor languid, they rose to higher levels of faith and zeal. The London Society almost immediately started to break ground at Lake Tanganika, which but seventeen years before had no existence on maps. Arthington of Leeds proposed

*_Africa Waiting_, pp. 103-104, contains an Anglican appreciation of the London Society.

†For Ilala *read* Kalinde (Brown, _The Story of Africa_, v. 2, pp. 264 and 265; v. 3, p. 18.)

this mission, and gave $25,000. In March, 1876, the society accepted the suggestion. In June, 1877, six missionaries left Zanzibar! It was intended to form a chain of stations from the coast to the lake, but this proved impracticable. At U-Rambo they gained the friendship of Mirambo the redoubtable chief of the Nyamwezi, a Zulu people, among whom he invited the missionaries to settle. In August, 1878, they reached U-Jiji, then a famous, populous port on Lake Tanganika, the Arab slave-market closing the day of their arrival. Here for two years the mission remained and exerted its salutary influence. Captain Hore, the energetic lay missionary and master-mariner, was the Miles Standish of Tanganika, though minus fighting. He made such surveys of the lake that the scientific world is quite as well acquainted with it as with Nyasa. His boat had been a slave-dhow, but became the first gospel-ship of the lake. Until 1888, despite the expenditure of $200,000 and the loss of many lives, success seemed unattainable. In 1881, indeed, Stevenson of Glasgow, one of the founders of the African Lakes Company, advanced its interests through causing Stevenson Road, never more than a roughly cleared route, to be constructed sixty miles from Nyasa toward Tanganika. It cost him at least ten thousand dollars. The new "road" saved six hundred miles of land-travel, with its enormous expense for porterage, and lessened the liability of the newcomer to fatigue and fever. The society accordingly established a station at the southern end of the latter lake in the high and comparatively healthy uplands of the plateau. In 1885-87 *Good News*, a steel steamer given by Arthington, began her beneficent work, and Mrs Hore and Jack, her infant son, traveled from the ocean to the lake in a chair. Their presence at Kavala island, where

the mission then was, proved a great blessing. Mr and Mrs Hemans, Negroes from the Antilles, also joined the mission. In spite of disturbances between the Germans and the coastal natives, which irritated the interior and forced the abandonment of Kavala, the outlook began to improve. Since 1888 the society has never lost its grip; on the contrary, it is extending operations. Notwithstanding the comparatively concentrated character of the field, the society had two bases of access to U-Rambo, two hundred miles east of the lake and now a Berlin mission. The first is Zanzibar, six hundred miles by land; but the Germans so madden the tribes that this route is more difficult than in 1873. The second base consisted of the Zambezi and Shire Rivers and Lakes Nyasa and Tanganika. This is the present route. The original intention of evangelizing the Tanganikan tribes through the steamer has been abandoned, as it proved better to throw the chief strength into developing Fwambo and Niamkolo, stations on the south shore. Already a mission settlement has been made on a large tract. At Lake Mweru fresh ground is about to be broken. These spots and the Nyasan posts form links in the chain for Christian civilization that has extended from Cape Colony to the Chambezi and Lake Victoria. As Sûdan opens again, it will run down the Nile to the Mediterranean, and by reversal realize Spitler's dream of an Apostle Street from Cairo to Khartûm. British Congregationalism was the pioneer at the meeting-point of Belgian, British and German spheres, and the international highway of Lake Tanganika forms the center in a long line of natural aids to communication. The men to whom is due this spiritual seizure of the strategic position have taken possession with a courage not less

than that of those who across the Atlantic occupied another heritage for civilization.

Within fifteen years from its first entrance into Africa the London Society started for Madagascar.* This great island, whose area of two hundred and thirty-eight thousand square miles falls only four thousand short of doubling that of the British isles but whose population of three and one-half millions numbers less than one tenth of the inhabitants of the islands in the North Sea, is an oceanic rather than a continental island. It constitutes a world by itself. Yet its African affiliations justify placing its missions among those of Africa. In order to understand the Hova career of Christianity, this must be prefaced by a brief sketch of its Malagasi environment.

Madagascar has been called the Britain of Africa; the Malagasi the Japanese of this pearl of the Indian ocean. As expressing the bearing of the island on the mainland and the character of the Malay inhabitants the epithets may be excused. The vast majority of the Madagascarenes are Malays, already half-civilized. They assimilated the Bantu settlers who came later. The Arab element, introduced as early as 722, if not before the birth of Islam, proved too weak to mold the indigenous populations. The Malabar Hindi also settled and traded in Madagascar through the middle ages. The

*Those who wish to investigate Madagascar or its missions more fully might consult Dahle, *Madagaskar og dets Beboere;* Ellis, *Madagascar, History of Madagascar, Three Visits, Madagascar Revisited* and *The Martyr Church;* Freeman and Johns, *Narrative of Persecutions;* Friends Miss. Ass., *Reports;* Grandidier, *Histoire de Madagascar;* Jukes, *Country Work;* La Vaissiere, *Histoire de missionaires;* Little, *Madagascar;* London Missionary Society, *Reports,* etc.; Matthews, *Notes of Mission-Work;* Maupoint, *Madagascar et ses eveques; Missions-Bilder;* Mullens, *Twelve Months;* Norwegian Miss. Soc., *Reports;* Oliver, *Madagascar* and *Madagascar and its Dependencies;* Pfeiffer, *Last Travels; Review of the Work of Friends, 1880;* Richardson, *Lights and Shadows;* Shaw, *Madagascar and France* and *Madagascar To-Day;* Sibree, *Madagascar, Southeast Madagascar* and *The Great African Island; Ten Years With the London Society,* 1870-80.

Dutch, the French, the Mascarene corsair and the slave-trader have in modern times attempted to master Madagascar. But the Malay remained one in race and of supreme authority. His language and physique prove this. Malagasi is current among all the tribes, whether of Arab, Hindi, Malay or Negro stock; and most of them approach the Malay type, distinguished by black, lank hair, coppery complexion and the whitest of teeth.

Estimates of Malagasi character differ greatly. The extremest contrasts naturally exist between the large towns and the rural districts. Cruelty, drunkenness, immorality, laziness, mercilessness, polygamy (with its resultant evil of easy divorce which the marriage-honoring Sakalava euphemistically call thanksgiving) and untruthfulness blot the Malagasi scutcheon. Affection and firmness in friendship, courtesy and kindness to children and old people, hospitality, loyalty to rulers and obedience to law, power of strenuous if short exertion, reverence, a serfage seldom cruel or oppressive and woman's relatively high position honor the Hova name. Among these, the once dominant and representative Malagasi, the most advanced and intelligent, the extremes receive emphasis. The townsmen, especially those of the capital, live in an atmosphere of court intrigue, and become astute diplomats, past masters in cajolery and deceit. The peasantry have preserved the national virtues. These peaceful agriculturists are industrious, kind to wife and child, a match for the shrewdest trader among the whites, and replete with patriotism.

The elements of culture were considerable. But Hova society rested on the slave, two million Malagasi being serfs, and the drawback was incalculable. Though the import of Negroes had since 1877 been rigorously repressed, the large land-owners in the east pleaded that

slavery best furthers landed interests. While the great planters through concentrating all efforts on coffee, cotton and sugar produced a show of prosperity, the masses suffered grievously and agriculture hardly rose above older standards. Yet serfage was not the sole form of slavery. (1) In every tribal community an ancient struggle between two castes or races had resulted in the hereditary villein. (2) The Hova conquests had till recently been subjected to forced labor. (3) Hova debtors, if bankrupt or paupers, paid the creditor by working as bondmen. Some of the grandees possessed many thousands of slaves, and even church-officers purchased them. Pastors avoided allusion to the right of man to freedom. Slavery is the curse of Christianity even more than of civilization. While a servile class existed, Madagascar, even if independent, could not thrive. The loss of national freedom and self-government at the hand of France would seem to be the punishment inflicted by God on the callousness of the Christian conscience of Madagascar.

The extensive folk-lore reveals imagination and intellectuality. The oratory abounds in figures, metaphors and parables. The language is a musical, pliant, poetic tongue, full of liquids and vowels, soft and without harsh gutturals. Despite curious deficiencies, such as the lack of alphabet and literature, though one tribe is said to have practiced picture-writing, it is rich in many of its verbal forms or other parts of speech. The glued-together names whose length appalls us are felicitous compounds describing salient features with graphic terseness. When the Hova accepted Christianity and its literature, including Roman writing, his language became a literary tongue and acquired a native literature of yearly increasing volume. It borrows and modifies English, French

and Portuguese terms as formerly it took from Arabic, Bantu or Hindi. *The Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, devoted to literature, science and scholarship, has been regularly published since 1875. It is written in English, chiefly by Congregational missionaries, but printed entirely by Hova craftsmen. Such a scientist as Keane thinks it reflects much credit on their intelligence and skill. Madagascar also has learned societies, and Radama II (1861) intended to found an academy of sciences. The Hova, like the Japanese their far kinsmen, possess unprecedented quickness for assimilating European ideas, and plunged with frenzy into the stream of foreign culture. When reactions caused the expulsion of white men, assimilation continued. To-day it is spreading from the capital in widening circles to the ends of the island. Antananarivo has become a metropolis with a hundred thousand inhabitants, worthy of Europe. Before the French conquest Christianity was the state-religion, imposed in the method of Constantine; education compulsory, compelling a final choice between a Protestant and a Roman school, teaching English and French in fifteen hundred schools, and translating scientific works into Malagasi.

The Malagasi possess inventive power and manual dexterity. Their fertilization and irrigation of rice-fields and their skilful fortification and metal-work evince these qualities. Their rice-crop feeds Mauritius and Reunion as well as Madagascar. Ground-nuts are cultivated, manioc, sweet potatoes, the *taro* of Polynesia and yams. Europeans have introduced tea and the cereals, fruits and vegetables of the north. The island supports fat-tailed fleecy sheep, a million Hindi buffalo and South African oxen and nearly all European live-stock and poultry. The Chinese and the native silk-

worm are reared. The weavers make bright, stout fabrics of silk as well as cotton and linen stuffs. Malagasi mats of papyrus or other reeds are highly esteemed for brilliancy, durableness and strength. Garments, hats and sails are prepared from the fiber of the *raphia* palm. The Hova government as a protection against foreign aggression discouraged mining and road-building, and worked only a few copper and gold mines as a domestic source of revenue. The absence of highways from the inland plateaus to the sea and the enormous transport-charges delay the development of commerce and the march of European mastery. A telegraph connects the capital and its sea-port. The native government taxed exports and imports, except books, school-furnishings and stationery. A large part of the traffic is with Mauritius and Reunion, which import Malagasi cattle, corn and provisions of all sorts. America and Europe take caoutchouc, copal, hides, suet and wax, paying with arms, draperies, hardware and woven goods. The trade in spirits has been forbidden.

The course of missions in Madagascar can not be understood without reference to European commerce and statesmanship. England during the reign of Charles II (1625-49) made a short-lived settlement. French attempts at colonization in 1643-72, 1750-61, 1774-86 and 1801, with frequent royal edicts in maintenance of prior "rights" of possession, gave sanction to France for her purely formal assumption of historic rights. But occupation to be valid must be effective. The failure of her actual attempts (with the lack of any between 1672 and 1750, 1761 and 1774, 1786 and 1801 and from 1802 to 1840 or 1845) nullified the force of the claim. In 1811 Britain took possession, but Radama the Malagasi Peter the Great had (1810) become king of the Hova and lord

of Imerina. When Britain and France made peace (1815), the British relinquished the theory that Madagascar was a political dependency of Mauritius, their recently acquired post (1810). They suffered a renewal of French occupancy at points along the Malagasi coast. The Paris treaty did not specify Madagascar as a region to be withheld from France (1815). This British inaction and silence left a loop-hole later for Gallic masters of international law, since the British policy could be technically construed as tacit recognition of French occupancy and prior rights. Meanwhile Radama (1810-28) was extending his power over nearly two thirds of the islands, and building up political rights which in equity and reality, ethics and legality reduce all European claims and pretensions to the dust of the balance. The Sakalava had about 1650 conquered western Madagascar and several central and northern tribes, eventually founding two native kingdoms that retained supremacy almost to 1800. Radama the Hova simply continued their task. Thus, since the first English and French interferences, there had ever been an independent Malagasi state, exercising eminent domain, claiming supremacy over other tribes and striving for the headship of the whole island. The British fancied they could use Radama as their tool, but the dusky diplomat used them. In 1820 they sent officers and traders to form an alliance with the king of Madagascar and its dependencies, as they acknowledged Radama to be, for the purpose of securing permanent footing and practical command at the coast. But Radama managed all, — civilian, merchant, missionary and politician — as civilizing agents. Until 1882 no foreign power owned any portion of Madagascar's mainland. The Hova government reserved every territorial right, and permitted no purchase of

land by aliens. British influence, through the purely spiritual labors of Congregational missionaries, grew strong, but it was merely that of individuals. Their government never attempted seriously to assert any claims to dominion. France took three islets in 1845, but her efforts before and after to establish French influence on the main island remained unsuccessful. From 1828 to 1861 a native reign of terror paralyzed the Hova state. Ranavalona imprisoned Madagascar in Korean seclusion, but native Christianity saved Malagasi civilization. Though the French established relations with the Sakalava and other independent populations, these as well as the Hova all offered ceaseless and strenuous resistance against the pretensions of France to sovereign rights on the Malagasi mainland.

By the treaty of Zanzibar, France and Britain agreed to respect the independence of Madagascar forever. But Radama II (1861-63) was induced while drunk to sign a treaty giving overwhelming influence to France. Patriots assassinated the king, and Rasoherina his successor repudiated the illegal agreement. French jealousy of Britain united with the Roman policy toward Protestant missions. The Jesuit became the political agent of France. International rivalries broke out afresh, aggravated by sectarian feeling. The Malagasi complications of the last thirty-three years have had their secular source reinforced from religion. Protestant missions in Madagascar have never received support from any government, nor have they rendered aid to any foreign state. Roman missions have received subsidies from France, and have worked for the French government.

In 1883-85 France made war on Madagascar, difficulties between the two governments, occasioned by the

Jesuits, offering the pretext. The treaty of peace was ratified by the Hova only on the faith reposed in the Malagasi text and in the light shed on it by an appendix or letter whose explanatory clauses satisfied Ranavalona III and the premier that neither the French nor the Malagasi word for protectorate existed in either text, and that France did not claim a protectorate. She did not even secure for her subjects the right to purchase land. But Ferry and Freycinet presented to France and the world a French version that gives an incorrect and misleading translation of the Malagasi text and suppresses the explanatory clauses. Then France said: Madagascar accepts me as her protector; I manage her foreign affairs. The Berlin congress might have prevented this by recognizing the integrity of Madagascar; but it was left among the states that have no rights against European powers. In 1890 Salisbury yielded Zanzibari rights on the African mainland to Germany, and assumed a protectorate over Zanzibar itself. The rights were not his. Britain had in 1862 solemnly assured France that she would do nothing to increase her hold on Zanzibar except by mutual agreement. France could not endure the appropriation of Zanzibar. Salisbury, to gain her acquiescence in East Africa, disregarded the Anglo-French treaty guaranteeing perpetual self-government to Madagascar, and recognized Ferry's or Freycinet's lie interpreting the Franco-Hova treaty. This acquiescence in the Gallic pretensions to a Malagasi protectorate surrendered British interests and Malagasi Protestantism, and paved the way for fresh attempts to subjugate the Hova power and Protestant Christianity in Madagascar to France and Rome. The resultant complications are endless and hurtful, delaying if not estopping the advance of civilization.

The apostle to the Gentiles could never have said to the heathen Malagasi: Men of Madagascar, I perceive you as in all respects more God-fearing than others. They believe (1) in a supreme being whom they call Andriamanitra the fragrant one and Zanahary the creator, and many ancient sayings express truths of natural religion as to the attributes of God; but He is so far above mortals that He can not be directly invoked. Hence piety is not a Madagascarene trait. On the other hand, superstition, though of course existent, lacks the grossness and pressure of that of pagan Africa. It leads to occasional attempts at divination, but there appears to be little tendency toward the fetich or the voudou. (2) Below Zanahary exist divinities not subordinate to him yet of inferior power. The winds, thunder, rain and all other manifestations of nature are personified as minor genii. Rocks, hills and great trees are also venerated as spirits. Of course evil spirits, ever hovering in the air in quest of victims, are more numerous than beneficent ones, but charms are believed to possess power to procure benefits and to prevent evils. The most potent weapon, however, against the adversary is song. (3) Ancestor-worship or, rather, homage to the spirits of dead ancestors creates a second class of lesser divinities. The Hova sovereign before the acceptance of Christianity was the "high-priest" of the nation, sacrificing annually for its prosperity and receiving the first-fruits. His image, his name and all objects touched by him were sacred, and after death he was revered as a god. The sanctifying power of the priestly or royal touch is the Polynesian *tabu*, and among the Sakalava prohibited practices are as many and wearisome as in Oceania. Propitiatory sacrifice and thank-offerings occur, each consisting of fowls or of sheep, though it has

been claimed that on important occasions tribes of the southern shore sacrificed human beings. Sacred altars and stones exist, many being anointed with blood and fat. The chief festival is New Year's, accompanied by the sacrifice of oxen and ceremonial bathing. Circumcision, when observed, is celebrated by a religious and social feast. There is a belief in divination, sorcery and witchcraft, in lucky or unlucky days and seasons and in ordeals. From this fetichist faith originated such idolatry as has ever existed in Madagascar. So far as idols occur, they are the rudest of objects and the recipients of scant attention, being used mainly in divination. The idol-keepers, though ranking as nobles, were few and unpopular. At the demand of the ruler they practiced divination; and they generally were the administrators of the ordeal, an instrumentality as abused as witchcraft in Africa. The day-declarers, diviners and fetich-keepers formed a Malagasi substitute for the priesthood.

In 1811 the London Society sent Vanderkemp as the ambassador of Christ to Madagascar. Unfortunately this wonderful man, whose combination of qualities "had perhaps never been equaled since the apostles", died in Cape Colony before reaching his new field*. Seven years later while the treaty between the British and the Hova was barely ten months old the pioneers of Christianity arrived. The story followed the wonted course. At first there were serious difficulties of climate and custom. When the Word took root, terrible persecutions ensued. When the Faith was free to grow, great progress came and wide extension. It seemed as if a nation would be born in a day; but the church has since encountered many trials and has many conquests to

*_The Encyclopedia of Missions_ states that "Vanderkemp died the 15th of December, 1811, on his way from the Cape of Good Hope to Mauritius." See vol. 2, pp. 7 and 449. It errs as to the place of his death.

achieve. Thus the narrative falls into three periods: planting, 1818-35; persecution, 1836-61; progress, 1862-95.

The society sent teachers, preachers and artizans as speedily as practicable. The teachers prepared a Malagasi literature. The preachers translated the entire Bible. The artizans taught blacksmithing, carpentry, printing, tanning and weaving. Education was pushed with a strong hand, nearly one hundred schools being established and almost five thousand boys and girls receiving the elements of a good education. When the missionaries were expelled, they left two thousand church-members, tried and true. The outcome demonstrated that even an infant church, if only it have the Bible, can stand. For five-and-twenty terrible years this martyr church, alone save for Him who walked beside the Hebrews amid the flames, went through furnace-fires seven times heated. The heathen raged, and kings set themselves against the Lord and His Anointed. All that a despot and tyrant backed by a powerful government and a numerous army could do to dislodge Christianity was done. What was the result? Christianity was sown through the length and breadth of Madagascar. The pagan Malagasi said: This is the finger of God; there must be something divine in this belief. The spiritual life of the Christians attained a depth, a power, a reality unobtainable in ease and prosperity. The sheep without a shepherd had when Ranavalona died (1861) become forty thousand.

In 1861 Radama II became king. The sun had not set on his accession before he proclaimed religious liberty. Next year the missionaries returned, and found one hundred thousand people ready to embrace Christianity. Under Radama and his successor Christianity

advanced until Ranavalona II became queen (1868) and embraced Christianity (1869). Within fifty years a pagan horde had risen from the darkest depths till there were fifty thousand communicants, one hundred and fifty thousand adherents, many thousands of scholars and one and one half million souls asking instruction. The queen carried forward measures of Christian civilization and reform which during the fifteen years of her reign transformed the Hova into a nation not unworthy to sit at the council-table of the commonwealths of Christendom. To say nothing of her other acts of philanthropy and patriotism, she emancipated her slaves, ended the slave-trade and paid for the liberation of one hundred and fifty thousand bondmen. She was succeeded by Ranavalona III (1883), an earnest Christian qualified to lead her people in truth and liberty. During the war with France (1882-86) no deterioration ensued. Cromwell's Ironsides reappeared in the Hova army, churches being formed in the camps, Bible and day schools kept up, and soldiers marching into action singing hymns. The central provinces were almost one vast prayer-meeting. The Sabbath-school movement took firm hold till it was scarcely more an institution in London than in Tananarivo. The churches constituting a Congregational body had previously founded a mission-society; during these martial years it grew so strong as to keep sending missionaries even to the heathen employed by France in war. After the war the churches manifested a higher type of Christianity, and in every way seemed more robust in personal piety. Ranavalona II established a branch of the Red Cross Association. Ranavalona had it minister not to her soldiers alone but to the abandoned allies of the French. The prayer was actually offered that "God would take the French soldiers back safe and sound to

their wives and children". Not that the Hova did not pray that God would help him to conquer the French, but he carried out the command: Love your enemies.

The close of this war brought new duties. Some of the ablest of the young Hova preachers opened missions among the Anossi, the Antsihanaka, the Bara and the Sakalava. The Malagasi Christians gained in heartiness of determination to support both home-missions and missions outside of Madagascar. In 1895 the Congregational field was under the care of forty missionaries, nearly fourteen hundred ordained native ministers and about five thousand, seven hundred and fifty Malagasi preachers. It contained over sixty-five thousand church-members and three hundred and seventy-five schools. Medical missions have always been vigorously pushed. Of course many among these multitudes fall away, for it takes generations to saturate a nation with Christianity; but among the vast masses of heathenism in the outlying provinces there are Christian churches; Betsileo and Imerina are Christianized; and the native rulers and government were Christian. No saintlier woman than Ranavalona II has worn a crown, and Ranavalona III was imbued with her spirit. The cloud over Christianity in Madagascar is the attempt of the Jesuits since 1886 to capture the educational institutions of the capital. In 1890 their schemes developed into treason, and compelled the premier to break up their establishment. This utterance of nationality led to new complications with France and to the resultant fall of the Hova state. Whom, however, the gods would destroy, they first make mad. Hence the Jesuit insanity, now so destructive to Protestant and, especially, to Congregational interests in Madagascar, will yet, perhaps quickly, recoil in ruin upon its authors. In 1898 the French governor-general

professed himself convinced that British missionaries have no political plans or relations, and promised to change entirely his policy toward Protestant missions. We shall see. Meanwhile four thousand children, taken from evangelical schools by the Jesuits, and three thousand members driven from evangelical churches have returned. Hence the outlook is characterized as especially encouraging!

The London Society made the Dutch and Portuguese unable to maintain that the Khoi-Khoin are a race of apes incapable of Christianization. You can no longer find written over church-doors in Cape Colony: "Dogs and Hottentots not admitted", as when Vanderkemp fought for the rights of down-trodden natives. None could to-day agree with the French governor who called to the first missionary for Madagascar: "So you'll make the Malagasi Christians? Impossible! They are mere brutes and have no more sense than irrational cattle". In Dr Philip, its representative at Cape Town, who, though not always temperate or wholly wise, defended the native against the colonist, English Congregationalism gave Africa another Philip the Evangelist. It was he who sent Huguenot missionaries among the Sutu, and pointed the Berlin and Rhenish Societies to the best openings. Livingstone who proudly traced his spiritual ancestry to the Puritan accomplished more for Christianity and civilization in Africa than any other man in history. Thirteen centuries before, Scotland had received Christian missions; now she paid her debt through giving Livingstone to Africa. From first to last Livingstone was a missionary; first as an evangelist, last as an explorer, though more in behalf of missions than of science; but always a missionary. He not only enlisted recruits for missions, but inspired them with enthusiasm.

Not even Charles Simeon, during a long residence at Cambridge, won more missionaries for India than Livingstone in a visit to British universities interested for Africa. Evangelistic, industrial and medical missions each received impulse through Livingstone. He made some mistakes. He was not wholly blameless in the Zambezi expedition of 1860-65. But he was Africa's providential man. Whether *he* made converts among Africans is immaterial, for he converted Stanley. The cry of Livingstone's life was: Who will open Africa? The career of Stanley answered the prayer. Stanley was in 1886 reported as saying: "What has been wanted, what I have been endeavoring to ask for Africans, has been the good offices of Christians ever since Livingstone taught me. In 1871 I went to him as prejudiced as the biggest atheist in London. But there came a long time for reflection. I was away from a worldly world. I saw this solitary old man, and asked myself: How does he stop here? Is he cracked or what? What inspires him? For months I simply found myself listening, wondering at the man carrying out all that is said in the Bible: Leave all things and follow me. But little by little his sympathy became contagious. My sympathy was aroused. Seeing his piety, gentleness, zeal and earnestness, and how he went quietly about his business, I was converted, though he had not tried to do it". The probabilities favoring the genuineness of this interview receive confirmation from the unquestionable authenticity of Stanley's conversation with Charters in 1889. Charters quotes Stanley as uttering this avowal: "If Livingstone were alive, I would take all the honors, all the praise men have showered upon me, put them at his feet, and say: *They are all yours*".

CHAPTER 9

1634–1898

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AND AFRICAN EVANGELIZATION*

Is it right to keep the gospel to ourselves?

Welz

AN EARLY START. MINOR LUTHERAN MISSIONS. AMERICAN LUTHERANS AND LIBERIA. FINLAND IN AFRICA. SWEDEN'S RETURN. HARDY NORSEMEN AMONG THE ZULU AND MALAGASI. AFRICAN ACTS OF GERMAN LUTHERANS. ST CHRISCHONA. THE RHENISH MISSIONS. NEANDER'S GIFT TO AFRICA: THE BERLIN SOCIETY. THE HERMANNSBURG SOCIETY: LUTHERAN ULTRAMONTANISM AND TYPICAL TEUTONIC METHODS. CHARACTERISTICS OF GERMAN MISSIONS.

The Lutheran was probably the first Protestant missionary to Africa, for Heyling of Luebeck worked in Abyssinia during 1634–36. Yet in 1664 Welz of Austria had to ask the Lutheran church whether it did right in taking no thought for spreading the gospel; and even in 1898, nearly two and a half centuries later, this great body is, apparently, represented in Africa only by twenty-eight intermediaries. Lutheranism in its attitude toward missions is a sleeping giant. It claims that as early as 1662 Lutheran clergymen from Denmark did mission-work on the Gold Coast; and that Protten, a Guinean mulatto whom a Danish pastor took to Copenhagen in 1726 and baptized and whom the "Moravians" afterward truly converted and sent as a missionary

*After the completion of this chapter Dr. E. F. Williams published *Christian Life in Germany*. The chapter on foreign missions, pp. 84–114, is invaluable.

(1736), worked under Dano-Lutheran auspices. A Danish society for missions that originated in 1821 thought of opening one in Danish Guinea, and in 1826 obtained governmental permission to do so. But as this organization timidly feared that it would be too weak to carry the mission, it introduced the Basel Society into this field (1826-27). The first African missionaries of this German-Swiss organization received Lutheran ordination in Denmark; Lutheran Danes were among its later workers in Guinea; and when the discouraged authorities at Basel thought of quitting the field, it was Riis who stood to his post, encouraged the society by his steadfastness and turned the tide. To this Danish Lutheran is due the human origin of the prosperity and success of the Basel Society in Guinea. Perhaps Lutheranism is also entitled to share the credit of "Moravian" missions, Francke the pietist who inspired Zinzendorf and the Unity being a spiritually-minded Lutheran. During the first half of the nineteenth century German Lutheranism gave many African missionaries to Anglican societies, its gift of Gobat and Krapf affording eminent instances of such support. But it was 1829 before Lutheranism independently entered Africa. The bulk of its African achievement is due to Germany, the Lutheran of America and Scandinavia, in comparison with his German brother, having accomplished next to nothing; at least not on the African continent itself.

The Ansgar Union of East Gothland, Sweden, sent a missionary to the Galla in 1887. The acquisition of German possessions gave birth (1886) to the German East Africa Mission-Society. Its original purpose was to aid missions through hospitals, to erect which in Dar-es-Salaam and Zanzibar it spent the greater part of $30,000. It has but recently begun to found missions

proper. The Leipzig Society has assumed the Bavarian missions at Chimba and Mbanqu near Mombaz, whose field lies among the Kamba. The Neukirchen Mission, chiefly supported by the Rhenish provinces, bases itself at Witu amidst the Pokomo and holds the station of Ngao among the Galla north of Tana River. The Berlin Ladies' Committee for the Christian Education of Females in the Orient sends money to help the mission of Christian women in South Africa. The Woman's Mission-Society of the American Lutherans supplies the matron of Muhlenberg mission.

American Lutherans were thirty years behind their German brethren in carrying Christianity to Africa, the mission-society of the General Synod not entering Liberia earlier than 1860. The government granted one hundred acres for a mission-farm, and two hundred more were reserved for actual settlers. Rescued slave-children were indentured to the Lutherans by the Liberian government, named after well-known persons, and formed into a Christian colony. One of them became the pastor of a native church, itself self-sustaining. The work is evangelistic, educational and industrial. Communicants are very few, but a number of Negro laymen hold services in inland towns as opportunity offers. With each church are connected schools whose graduates constitute a civilizing force among the pagan. At the same time that the boys and girls are educated and converted, they are trained to manual labor. A carpenter-shop, machine-shop and smithy are features of the industrial department. The cultivation of coffee, rice, sugar and vegetables adds largely to the income. But Liberia is soaked in spirits, and the European liquor-traffic is the greatest possible obstacle to the success of Muhlenberg.

Far and tiny Finland also sends her sons to the chil-

dren of Ethiopia. The last northern land to accept the Christ (1157-1279) was the latest Scandinavian country to share Christianity with Africa (1866). Seven centuries after Eric the Holy, the first Finn entered Southwest Africa. Though assigned to a station of the Hermannsburg Society, a German body, the Finland Mission-Society sustained this mission. Two years later the Finns opened a mission of their own among the Dama or Ovambo, and in 1892 the Rhenish men came to the same region. The difficulties were enormous. Portuguese slave-traders harassed the missionaries. Fever lurks in the swampy plains. Traveling adventurers prejudiced a chief against them. Jesuits are accused of intruding in this Lutheran sphere of interest. The absence of peace and settled government rendered progress slow, for the twelve native tribes fought unceasingly. The missionaries prepared the educational literature for the natives in Finnic! A quarter-century dragged away before the first convert came, and aftergrowth has been but slow. Since 1883 the mission has made fair advance, but the German annexations between Kunene and Orange Rivers beset the missionaries with as many embarrassments as they remove.

The Swedish Lutherans became African cross-bearers when the Evangelical National Society attempted the evangelization of the Galla (1865). This mission was begun on the advice of no less authorities than Krapf and Gobat, but the great sacrifices and enormous exertions it has cost have not met with proportionate results. The difficulties did not rise from the people, for they have for centuries stood as a wall against Muhammadanism and have on several occasions shown sympathy for Christianity. The difficulty lay in their unreachableness. The northern door, that through Abyssinia, was

closed by its Christianity being a petrified perversion hostile to missions. The door from the east still remains barred, since on that side live the Somali, hereditary enemies of the Galla. The southern entrance was then blocked by the Masai. The first missionaries did not reach the Galla at all. They were obliged to remain near Massawah on the Red Sea, over five hundred miles north. But the tide has turned. The Italian advance toward Shoa, however fruitless for Italy, and the forward movement of the British through Ibea are loosening the bolts of the prison-gates. The missionaries have converted and educated Galla refugees at their Abyssinian stations, and since 1880 one of these Galla has taught his people.

The second African mission of Sweden is not, like the former, the outcome of a free and spontaneous movement among the people. It is the legal and official organization of mission-work into a function of the state-church. At the instance of Schreuder the Norseman the Swedish church purchased an estate in Natal at the Zulu frontier, and opened a mission (1876). This is still too young to have accomplished much, its principal feature being the establishment of homes for native children.

The African missions of Norwegian Lutherans originated, not with their state-church, but with the laity. The Norse Mission-Society is thoroughly democratic in organization. Its pioneer was Schreuder, who in 1844 went among the Zulu, and won their chief's favor by medical mission-work. They proved a difficult but, after the first hindrances were overcome, a promising field. Not till 1851 could Schreuder begin work. Not till 1858 was the first convert, a girl, baptized. Not till 1888 did the cessation of wars allow missionaries a fair chance.

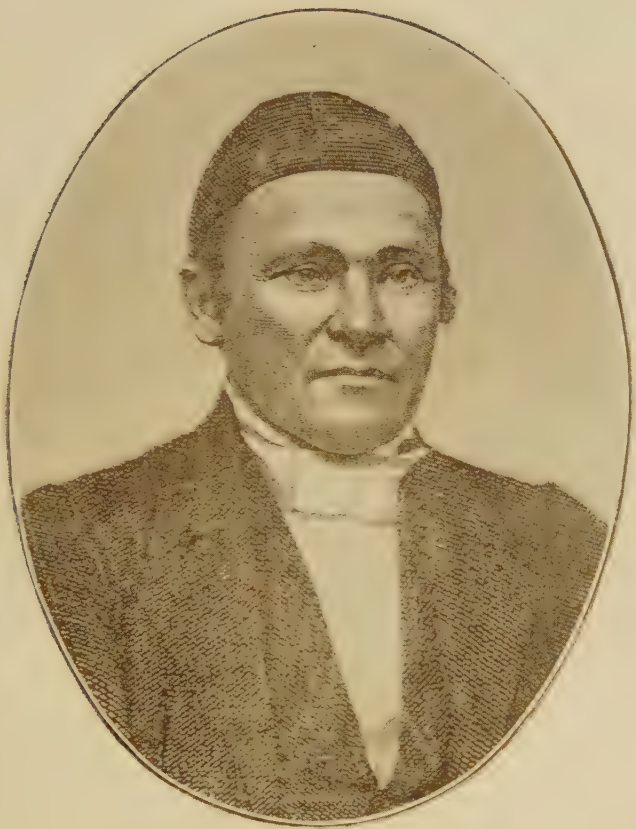
During the war on Ketchwayo most of the British and German missions were disturbed if not destroyed, but the Zulu chief had too much respect for Schreuder to touch his station. The society still cultivates part of this field with energy and success, but in 1873 Schreuder transferred his services to the state-church of Norway. Though he had served the Norse Mission-Society for thirty years; though his few words to the church in 1842 had illumined its conscience as if a mighty lamp had been lit; and though the success of this Zulu mission had been due to his eminent energy, exalted enthusiasm and powerful personality, — it was ever his wish to represent, not an association of individuals, but the church of the Norwegian state. The Norse church accordingly formed a mission-committee to which Schreuder brought one of the stations of the Norse Mission-Society. The work has progressed peacefully, but is still in the day of small things. Both the church and the society avail themselves of native agency.

The triumph of the Norse Society has been won in Madagascar. This mission at its beginning (1867) was directed by Schreuder. It soon assumed large proportions, now including not only the Hova inland but (since 1879) the Sakalava (Wild-Cats) on the western coast and (since 1888) points on the southeastern shore till then unvisited by Europeans. When the Hova government introduced compulsory education, the Norwegian schools received thirty thousand children. In 1892 the society relinquished four stations in favor of the United Norwegian Lutherans of America. The results included over five hundred schools, among them a normal and a theological seminary, forty thousand scholars, a regiment of native evangelists, preachers and teachers, and

fifty thousand adherents. Near Sirable is a hospital for lepers. At Antananarivo Hospital Malagasi physicians were educated.

Twelve independent societies, excluding the *quasi* Lutheran "Moravians", represent German Lutheranism in Africa. One works in the north, one in the east, three in the south. Half of all missionaries in South Africa are Germans. Most of these belong to the Hermannsburg Society, the fewest to the Rhenish organization, an intermediate number to the Berlin body. But in adherents Berlin takes the first place, and Hermannsburg stands at the foot. After a glance at the north, we will begin our examination of the south with the first society to enter.

The St Chrischona mission originated in Spittler's idea that in the Basel Society life was not unpretending enough. He intended to found a chain of twelve stations, embracing Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia. In his behalf Krapf established and directed this remarkable pilgrim-mission which, had it succeeded, would have been a fulfilment of his great plan for a series of reinforcing missions across Africa. He, however, had looked to planting posts from east to west. Spittler named the line "Apostle Street between Jerusalem and the Galla in Abyssinia". The stations included Cairo (1861), Alexandria and Assuan (1865), Khartûm and Metamneh, and were to be bases for missions in Abyssinia. But the southernmost posts cost many lives, the full number of stations was never attained, and the attempt to penetrate the interior by this north-and-south route failed. Of the missions actually founded some declined. In Egypt it was recognized that the American United Presbyterians were sufficient. Since 1868 the Chrischona mission there has devoted itself to a successful school in Alexandria.



JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF

German forces are still active in the Egyptian metropolis, and there are Kaiserswerth deaconesses with hospitals of their own. Among the Galla at Silwah are forty nominal Christians for whom the Chrischona mission still toils.

The Rhenish Society entered Cape Colony in 1829, but distributes its energies between this and German Southwest Africa. The latter is covered with a web of Finnic and Rhenish posts, forming quite as full and systematized a mission-sphere as any in Africa. The missions in the former field are better developed and are self-supporting, though the converts are very far from moral capacity for self-government. The colony bestows lands on schools with a given number of pupils and with an inspector's certificate. Consequently the schools are crowded and the missionary is not only pastor but employer. In German Southwest Africa missions among the Herero and Nama encounter still greater difficulties. Intertribal wars caused the destruction and abandonment of stations. The language is so impracticable that the missionaries could not preach without interpreters. The Herero, though dull and slow, hold tightly what they once understand. Despite the almost insurmountable barrier raised by the language, considerable success was attained in educating native helpers. But the rivalries between the British and the Germans, with the introduction of rum by the former, seriously hampered the mission. In 1884, however, the society found itself so rich in missionaries that it was enabled to open new posts. It claimed sixteen thousand adherents in 1886, and to-day perhaps possesses as many. The entire south of Namaland will, twenty-five years hence, have not a single professed pagan.

South Africa also calls forth the principal activity of

the Berlin Society founded by Neander and called Berlin I. This spends nine times as much money here as in China. Entrance into Orange Free State was effected in 1834, into Kafraria in 1837, into Cape Colony in 1838, into Natal in 1847 and into Transvaal in 1848. The field, formerly divided into conferences, has since 1875 been organized into synods. These comprise the districts already named, except that the South African Republic falls into two synods, North and South Transvaal. In this Boer commonwealth the latest mission has become the most flourishing mission, and the founding of Botchabelo and the Sikukuni persecution (1864) make a romantic episode. Every synod has a superintendent to advise and assist in the several departments of work. While the Kafir is hard to evangelize, the Sutu (Ba-Suto) is impressionable and clever. From him have come many able native assistants who owe their training in part to the two educational institutions of the society. The aim of making the stations self-supporting is kept in view. This is effected through the beneficence of the converts and by profitable enterprises within the limits of the stations. Annual expenses average $50,000, of which the natives contribute half. The missions have always been greatly harassed by the brawls of the Negroes and the conduct of the colonists and their governments. Progress has been slow, but success sure. At the end of sixty years the stations numbered fifty-five, half of them in Transvaal, and the baptized forty-five thousand, including nearly fifteen thousand communicants. In Cape Colony the stations, it is claimed, have actually become parishes of baptized blacks. The society has added Kondeland (1891) on the northern or German shore of Lake Nyasa, Rhodesia (1893) and Urambo, a former and isolated London mission, to its African fields (1897).

The Hermannsburg Society demands special attention*. The North German organization became more of a Calvinist or Presbyterian than a Lutheran body. Many men offered themselves for missions who were rejected as uneducated peasants. The Christian church could not afford such loss. Hence the Hermannsburg Society, whose Lutheranism and spirituality have deepened Germany's inner life. From the first the German peasantry have sustained it. The earliest missionaries consisted of artizans and farmers. Good public-school training is the sole educational qualification required for admission to its mission-institute, but in churchliness the society out-Luthers Luther. The course extends over six years and includes carpentry, farming and other industrial and practical features. Colonization was until 1869 united with evangelization; Christianity and the arts of civilization introduced hand-in-hand; and Christian communism practiced. The stations are largely self-supporting, and so far as feasible have a complete ecclesiastical and political organization.

In 1854 the first missionaries and colonists, the party consisting equally of religious and secular agents, arrived in *The Candace*, possibly the first of mission-ships proper, off the Galla country. Such difficulties and hindrances developed that the party settled in northern Natal. Four years later another attempt was made to reach the Galla, but with equal ill-success. The Natalese station remained until 1883 the center from which the whole field was managed, although the plan was to press across the border as soon as possible, and it is still the head-quarters of the Zulu mission, the residence of the superintendent and the seat of a school for educating the missionaries' children. Entrance into Zululand was

*See Fleming Stevenson's *Praying and Working*.

gained by making a wagon-house for its chief. After vain waiting for results from their toil, the Germans tried an experiment. Natives cultivating mission-land were required either to send their children to school, to pay rent or to quit. The first they would not, the second they could not, the third they did do. Consequently the mission had to allow them to return. The establishment of a seminary for training native helpers proved a less unsuccessful scheme. From the entire field came pupils whose presence and example finally roused the interest of the Negroes. Community of property became impracticable, for the mission-farmers disliked to be destitute of property while unattached farmers were acquiring it. So long as the colony consisted only of bachelors, for none others were sent, communal life could be maintained; but marriage brought the family and the home. In the division of labor, friction broke out constantly between the missionaries and their colonists. These demanded more assistance than those were inclined to grant, and missionaries made offensive assertions of superiority. The appointment of division-superintendents, an administrative feature adopted at an early date, also caused ill-feeling. Finally the society, though never swerving from high Lutheranism, has been obliged, in order to adapt its churches to African converts, to modify the confession, government, liturgy and ordinances of the Lutheran church.

The principal expansion of the Natalan mission has been northward into Zululand and southeastern Transvaal. The character of the natives and the frequency of interruption through political emergencies have caused numerical success here to be of the slightest.

The career of the Chwana mission has been far more prosperous. From a chief came a call (1857) that the

society undertake work in western Transvaal. This entreaty was emphasized by a letter from Dutch authorities. Mission-colonies were here discarded. Gradually a net-work of stations overspread the entire west of Transvaal and the east of British Bechwanaland. These districts had been occupied by British Congregational missionaries whom the Transvaal Boers had expelled. Yet within five years the rulers of the latter joined with a blackamoor in requesting missionaries. Sometimes the mills of God grind fast as well as fine! Moreover, the London Missionary Society has returned to its own, for in after years the Hermannsburg men restored the field to British Congregationalism. They, however, retained the stations among the Chwana of the South African Republic, a course whose propriety and wisdom are evinced by the existence of ten thousand communicants at the Transvaal missions of the Hermannsburg Society.

As German missions in general are Lutheran missions, a statement of their special features may close this chapter on the Lutheran as an African evangelist. Pastor Richter of Germany writes: "German missionaries follow evangelistic lines. (1) They have a clear and decided idea that mission-work is purely and solely religious, is preaching the gospel for salvation. They, therefore, always devote their powers to efforts purely evangelistic. This gives German mission-work an appearance of simplicity. Consequently the gospel is abundantly preached, and every young missionary compelled to master the native tongue almost as well as his own. In fact, no missionary is officially recognized and ordained before proving that he has thorough knowledge of the language. (2) Catechumens are as thoroughly as possible instructed in the rudiments of Christian truth, with the object of training a native Christian

community. (3) They are very careful about church-discipline. In the native convert they see only a new-born child in the Faith, who needs perpetual [?] education to become a full man in Christ. Perhaps the difference between the German and other mission-work is nowhere more striking than in this patient, unwearied education of the flock. (4) They spend much time and energy in translating the Scriptures and other religious literature. Even so difficult and intricate a language as that of the Khoi-Khoin has been mastered. The final revision of the Kafir and the Sutu Bible was laid in the hands of German missionaries. (5) They give comparatively little attention to spheres of labor only subordinate, in their judgment, to the main evangelistic work. Woman's work is only becoming recognized; medical missions are established only in unhealthy climates, especially for the missionaries themselves. But every young missionary, before going, goes through medical training, somewhat along the lines of Livingstone College, London. (6) Industrial missions are never undertaken as a separate mission-agency; only when they can be of help to the spiritual work. The 'Moravians' win a deal of their income from shops in the stations. The Rhenish Society has spent much energy and money in introducing useful handicrafts, Dr Hugo Hahn being famous for industrial ability. The Berlin station of Botchabelo, near Middelburg in southern Transvaal, is one of the finest specimens of industrial stations. (7) In the use of native agents German missions are slow to make native Christians independent either as pastors or superintendents. Instead of the theory of self-government native agents work under close European supervision with excellent results".

The American and British idea is the more excellent way: "Make a man a *man* — and let him be!"

CHAPTER 10

1796–1898

METHODISM AND AFRICA

Though a thousand fall, Africa must not be given up.
Melville Cox

BRITISH WESLEYANISM AND THE NEGRO. FROM THE ANTILLES TO SIERRA LEONE AND SENEGAMBIA. SOUTH AFRICA. AMERICAN METHODISM AND LIBERIA. BISHOP TAYLOR'S WORK AND THE SEQUELS. WRECK AND SALVAGE IN MISSIONS. MINOR METHODIST MISSIONS FROM AMERICA. BRITISH PRIMITIVE METHODISTS. BRITISH UNITED FREE METHODISTS. THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST (AMERICANS).

Methodism, so far as can be at present determined, is apparently represented among Africans by thirty-two organizations.* British Methodists did not undertake distinctive missions to the heathen before 1786, though, since 1769, they had labored among the Negroes in the future United States and, still earlier, amid the black populations of the Antilles†. In 1786 Wesleyan England sent Coke to Nova Scotia, but Providence drove him to the British West Indies. He arrived at Antigua on Christmas, and this became the birthday of Methodist missions. From the Gibraltar of the Lesser Antilles the work among Negroes spread until within forty years the Wesleyans had occupied the Bahamas, Honduras, Jamaica, Haiti, the Virgin, Leeward and Windward Islands, Barbados, Tobago, Trinidad and British Guiana.

*It claims the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion as a Methodist body, though this is Congregational in polity.

†Wesley's *Deed of Declaration* formally and permanently established the independence of Methodism in distinction from Anglicanism.

Meanwhile American slaves who had fought under the British flag against the United States had professed repentance for their sins when (nominally) converted in Nova Scotia by Wesleyan missionaries. After the migrations to Sierra Leone (1787-91) the first Methodist mission in Africa itself began among them (1796)*. It was, however, not for fifteen years that Methodist missions reached the native pagans themselves (1811). Once arrived, however, these Wesleyans extended their missions from the Gambia to the Niger almost as speedily as the Church Society itself spread. From one point of view the entire history of these missions in Sierra Leone seems a mere record of sacrifice of life. Tribal wars prevented progress into the interior, and sometimes compelled the abandonment or suspension of work. Nevertheless, Sierra Leone in 1898 had nearly one hundred and fifty Negro preachers in the service of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society. These ministered to more than twenty thousand communicants and cared for over fifty thousand adherents. Advance is the desire credited to every district, and a movement into Yariba has succeeded. Here and at Lagos there are, it is claimed, over sixty Negro missionaries or local preachers. Everywhere the white element forms, perhaps not unwisely, only a small minority of the mission-force. A seminary for training native ministers is in successful operation, and other educational work is called satisfactory. The Wesleyan schools of Gambia, the Gold Coast (officially designated nowadays as Cape Coast) and Sierra Leone stand among the leading educational institutions of West Africa.

A Methodist and missionary attempt to reach the Fulbe, as distinguished from the purely non-Methodist

*See chapter 20, p. 713-4, on the Fulbe. Fula, Fulah (plural, Fulbe), Felata, Filani and Ful are variant forms of the name of this notable race.

and secular endeavor to found a colony among them in 1795, was made when the society settled at Gambia River (1821). Though the hope that the Fulbe might be influenced received but slight realization, to liberated Africans and the Mande the mission has been of advantage. The native preachers from Sierra Leone gave general satisfaction and proved extremely useful. The Mande or Mandi=ngo — whose language is a link, perhaps, between the Bantu and the Sudanese branch of Negro speech, as is evidenced by the suffix *=ngo*, signifying *people* — are an important Negro nation. Muhammadans mainly, so far as the masses can be called Muslims at all, they are Islam's chief apostles in West Africa, and also wield wide influence as sowers of European ideas. Their fine language, with its rich folk=lore, and their genius for music unite with their intellectual, practical and religious gifts to make them a most desirable conquest for Christianity.

The first efforts of the Wesleyan Society toward evangelizing South Africa were put forth when, at the request of the chief of the Little Nama, Barnabas Shaw settled among them*. Schmelen of the London Society had afforded him an opportunity to enter Great Namaland; but the Little Nama chieftain was seeking a Christian teacher that his tribe like others might enjoy the material advantages he had seen entering in the train of Christianity. As Shaw and his brave wife reached the Nama hamlet they were met by more than twenty natives on galloping oxen, come to stare at the white woman. Since they had never seen such a being, they beheld her with awe. The husband taught the elements of religion and the use of letters to old as well as young, and introduced labor=saving inventions. Among these were the

*Namaqua or Nama=Kwa is the old spelling. *=Kwa* (*=qua*) means *people*, and is superfluous. So with *=ra* in Damara.

cross-cut saw and the plow, the latter chiefly constructed by the missionary himself. As the chief watched the plow tear the ground with its iron mouth, he cried: "If it go so all day, it will do the work of *ten* wives!" The Nama were also amused by the swift growth of seeds; but when they saw the use made of lettuce and other salads, they laughed, and exclaimed: "If the missionaries and their wives can eat grass, they need never starve". Year after year Christianity bore more and more on the moral and spiritual condition of the natives. At the same time its civilizing influences ushered in a new era in farming and improved the secular circumstances of life. Progress was steady and sure. When a number of children and young people had learned to read, a church was formed. In 1855 the native Christians at their own expense erected a church costing $5,000 and seating six hundred attendants.

The Great Nama were entered in 1832, but their wanderings prevent the success attained with their southern kinsmen. The Wesleyans, accordingly, withdrew in favor of the Rhenish Society (Lutheran). Cape Colony's Wesleyan missions began (1820) with the design of establishing a chain of stations to link Cape Town with Natal; among the Chwana in 1822; in Kafraria in 1823; and in Natal itself about 1842. Mission-extension outstripped colonization, and Methodism has progressed more in eastern than in western Cape Colony. The importance of the British Afrikanders is only less due to the Wesleyan than the Anglican. Moreover, the large work among the white population is really, though indirectly, an auxiliary to missions among the native aborigines. The Wesleyans became so numerous and strong that in 1882 the society formed them into a colonial conference and placed all Wesleyan interests south

of Vaal River in its hands. The numerical success of the colonists is indicated by the claim of forty-six thousand Negro communicants in addition to about five thousand white church-members. The *independent* Wesleyan conferences of the whole of Africa, if the present writer understand their statements correctly, in 1897 claimed almost one hundred and twenty-five thousand communicants. In this connection it may be added that the Antillean Wesleyans number fifty thousand communicants*. The British Wesleyans retain the Chwana field, the Orange State, the South African Republic and the lands of the Stella, Swazi and Zulu. The South Africa Company assisted them to enter Rhodesia, and here seven stations have been opened. North of the Vaal, extension has been recent and rapid, and at Kimberley's diamond-mines the society devotes particular attention to Negro immigrants from regions beyond. Figures seldom represent facts sufficiently, but among South African aborigines the society has ten thousand adherents (including sixty-six hundred "Christians"?), and self-support is stated to be a characteristic of Negro Wesleyans.

The youngest African mission of British Wesleyanism is on the Gold Coast (1834). It is averred that here the local Negro preachers number four hundred and seventy! But how should these figures and terms be understood? Most of the ministers are not ordained, and can not read. For "preachers" must we not read "helpers"? Two hundred and eighty-six additional natives are reckoned as appointees, of whom twenty-three are ordained. Stations extend along the shore and into the interior. For some time Kumassi, capital of Ashanti, was occupied. To-day Dahome is a sphere of Wesleyan

*Kelly (*The Methodist Year-Book*, 1898, Dr. Sanford, editor) and Vahl, *Missions in 1896*.

interest. The missions in West Africa are organized as the Gambia and Sierra Leone district and as the Gold Coast and Lagos district. The society has sixteen thousand, nine hundred and forty-five Negro communicants in West Africa, seven thousand, six hundred and sixty-four of whom are on the Gold Coast. Here the Wesleyan community, not to be confused with the communicants, numbers thirteen thousand and seventy-four members, if we include its society of five thousand, four hundred and ten young people. The native pastors in 1897 numbered twenty-three (mentioned above as ordained); two hundred and sixty-three catechists and teachers; three thousand, three hundred and eighty-seven catechumens; and five thousand, seven hundred and forty-three day-scholars. Of these, unfortunately, only twelve *per cent* are girls. No statistics of baptisms, so indispensable for judging the growth of a church, are furnished; but it is obvious that British Wesleyans have won the real success of Methodism in Africa.

American Methodism owes its African interests to the American Negro. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was inspired into being (1819) through John Stewart*. This black man, the son of free and pious Baptists in Virginia, was converted through Methodist preaching at Marietta, Ohio, in 1816. He at once, through a black interpreter, "a fugitive slave and backslidden Methodist", evangelized the Wyandots, and now sleeps his last sleep among his Indian brethren. Thus John Eliot's joint-ministry for the red man and the

*This Methodist church, European readers may like to know, originated in 1766, and has grown out into the following independent offshoots: the African Methodist Episcopal Church (1816); the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (1820); the Methodist Protestant Church (1830); the Wesleyan Methodist Church (1843); and the Methodist Episcopal Church South (1846). The old mother-church is for clearness and convenience commonly called the Methodist Church North, but the last word is no part of the title.

black was repeated in the ministrations of this Negro unto his Indian fellow-sufferers. The church was roused by its dusky son, and by him led into missions.

In 1820 American Methodists organized the first of their foreign congregations. This originated during the *Mayflower* voyage of Methodism from America to Liberia. Freed Negroes returning as colonists to the drear home of their enslaved and kidnaped ancestors were its members. Coker, the organizer, thus became the father of Methodist Episcopacy in Liberia. But Methodism had no missionary proper before 1833. Then came Cox. Africa was the first field, Cox the first missionary, of the society. Within four months of his arrival he died, but he proclaimed that, though a thousand fell, Africa must never be surrendered; and his words — that outshine Lawrence's undying utterance: *Don't give up the ship* — have proved an inspiration and a self-fulfilling forecast. Only the Omniscient may measure their force and range. Cox knit a tie between Africa and Methodism that may not again be severed. Doctor Goheen arrived in 1836, and made an effective medical missionary. The Liberian Mission-Conference, now an organic member (because, since 1868, an annual conference) of the Methodist Church of the United States, was also established in the same year. Yet the missionaries, despite the use of means so practical as teaching agriculture and the handicrafts, mainly failed to Christianize the pagan of the black republic. From 1854 to 1878 the society, according to Doctor Eugene R. Smith, author of *African Missions of American Methodists* and editor of *The Gospel in All Lands*, sent no missionaries. From 1880, again, the society stopped sending missionaries and from 1882 to 1896 it had no missionary representative in the field. During 1878-82 Liberia had men from the society,

and from 1879 to 1883 the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society had two women there. One of these has since 1883 been an independent missionary, supported by American friends and by Liberians. In 1853 Bishop Scott visited the missions, and in 1876 Bishop Haven came. This visit cost the latter his life, was a virtual martyrdom. In 1858 Francis Burns, a Negro preacher from America (1834), was ordained bishop, Methodism's first missionary-bishop for Africa, and until death (1863) rendered fair service. John Roberts, his successor (1866-75), was also a colored man and capable leader. Bishops Burns and Roberts are the sole Negro bishops that Liberian Methodism has had, and years lapsed before their vacant place was occupied in 1884. The Methodist Church and the Society from 1877 to 1884 forgot Melville Cox and slumbered as to Africa. Then the church elected William Taylor, an evangelist of world-wide repute and of success in Cape Colony and Natal in 1866, as missionary-bishop, and put Methodist Africa into his hands. All that this church, as an organization, did until 1896 was to appropriate $2,500 yearly through the missionary-society to supplement the salaries of Liberian ministers. The society also made appropriations for the building and care of schools and for episcopal supervision. Its African expenditure in 1893 was $10,920. Many Methodist missionaries, in the judgment of Doctor Smith, an acknowledged authority, "have neither by nature nor grace been fit for the work". This might, perhaps, be also inferred from the slight growth of the mission. The church-membership (including probationers) was two hundred and four in 1835; six hundred and eighty-eight in 1840; eleven hundred and thirty-four in 1850; fifteen hundred and ninety-nine in 1860; two thousand, two hundred and forty-nine in 1870; and only

twenty-five hundred and three in 1885. Analysis of these figures (disregarding fractions) gives the following gains: for 1836-40, four hundred and eighty-four members, or ninety-seven annually; 1841-50, four hundred and forty-six, or forty-five yearly; 1851-60, four hundred and sixty-five, or forty-seven *per annum;* 1861-70, six hundred and fifty, or sixty-five each year; 1871-85, two hundred and fifty-four, or the magnificent total of seventeen every twelvemonth. Moreover, the yet unmentioned factor that makes the story of the statistics even sadder is that this growth occurred mainly among the colonists, only slightly among the natives. A mission that required two generations (1820-85) to acquire so few as two thousand, five hundred members (chiefly colonists); and that for the last ten or fifteen years did nothing, practically, except marking time, — must, it would seem, have had some inherent, vital defect. As a church-planting, state-building factor in Liberia American Methodism, to say nothing of other branches of American Christianity, has hardly scored a success. Doctor Smith in 1893 publicly asked: Would it not be good to throw our charges on their own resources? The Baptists did so with enlarged prosperity. Doctor Reed, then an ex-secretary of the society, wrote: "My correspondents are reluctant to give the disheartening facts. Methodism has made vast expenditures, but with little result — less than for any other expenditure it ever made*". The Liberians, in spite of disadvantages or drawbacks, might well have exerted a stronger Christian and civilizing influence on the natives than they chose to put forth.

"The great lack of interest," as the Liberian Confer-

*Doctor Smith's financial statements would appear to indicate that the Liberian mission, 1820-98, cost the church one million dollars. The Taylor mission is not included.

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ence of 1897 expressed itself, "felt by the society for several years was partially revived when Doctor Taylor was elected bishop". He, for the society, administered the old work of the Conference, but independently directed other Liberian missions. These were the Taylor Mission, characterized as self-supporting and sustained by special contributions. The Methodist chronicler in 1893 declared that "the advance [in Liberia since 1885, when Bishop Taylor's oversight commenced,] was a witness to his wise administration" and that "they looked for much greater progress during the next ten years". The Liberian Conference had in 1892 claimed three thousand, seven hundred and forty-three members and probationers, an increase of twelve hundred and forty in seven years, and hope was cherished.

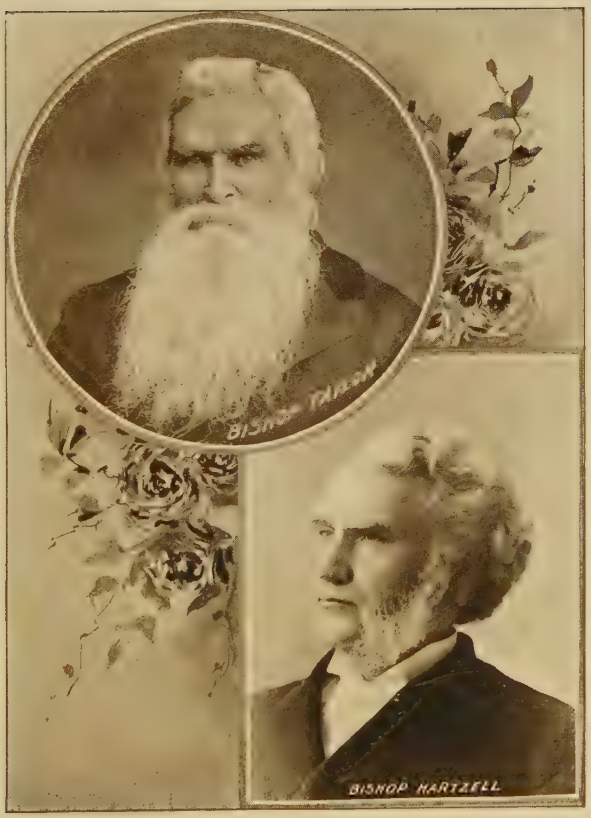
It is commonly supposed that Taylor Mission was a Methodist enterprise. It was not. If the personnel were predominantly Methodist, the organization was independent and undenominational. At the Columbian Exposition (1893) Bishop Taylor informed the Chicago Congress on Africa that "discussion by the General Conference of the Methodist Church in 1884 brought out so discouraging aspects of their work in Africa that the Conference, but for the shame of defeat, would have given up the field. The next thing was to find a man to take the responsibility and become a scapegoat to bear their reproach into the wilderness and probably die in the jungle. The Conference was willing to risk my life. I was thrust into the breach by a more-than-two-thirds vote without discussion. They said: 'We will turn him loose and let him do as he likes.' I have the responsibility of administering for the Methodist Society in its old Liberian work; but the stations I have opened are under the control of no society and receive no pay. . . .

All funds come from free-will offerings of friends in America, Australia and England". This sounds as if Taylor Mission could hardly have been classed among those of the Methodist communion. Nor did the Methodist Church desire such association. An ex-secretary of the society, returning from the missionary-convention of 1892, wrote: "Though I never was bright in my hopes for Taylor's success, my enthusiasm has been reduced by association with him"; and in 1895 Methodist bishops uttered sharp strictures on his method and result.

Bishop Taylor had long been convinced that the prevalent methods of African missions were not the best. He believed that missions from the first should be indigenous and support themselves. During his African absences he was represented in America by unpaid agents who administered the home affairs, and responded to calls for men and means. There was also a society that defrayed the traveling expenses, from New York City to the field, of missionaries unable to meet them, and provided the equipment needed for opening stations. Taylor went in advance, chose a post, broke a path and stationed volunteers. All else devolved on them. Henceforth unaided, despite the pauperism, remoteness, savagery and tropical climate of Africa, the missionaries must at the same time support themselves and Christianize the pagan.

Between 1884 and 1896 two hundred missionaries were so sent. The Liberian attempt made but slow advance. It refrained from regular school-work and from accepting boarding-scholars till food could be raised; but only at three stations was there mention of a farm. Beside fruits and vegetables the most trustworthy resource in marketable values was coffee, provision being made for

coffee-scions, oxen and plows. The Angolese mission reported seven stations and one hundred converts. These posts extended three hundred and thirty-three miles inland from Sao Paulo da Loanda, and claimed that farms, schools, stores or trades rendered them self-supporting. The eleven stations in Belgian Kongo, with less than a hundred converts after a decade of effort, extended from the mouth of the river to the further corner of Stanley Pool. Miss Kildare, single-handed, manned a station for ten years. There were also inland missions at Lueba, on the junction of Kasai and Lulua Rivers, and at Luluaburg, seven hundred miles from Banana. At Kimpopo were a mission-farm of ten acres and an irrigating ditch a mile long. Vivi raised vegetables, live stock and fruit. Ntombe boasted a fruit-orchard. A steam-launch traversed the lower river, but a steamer was even more needed here than on the upper stream. Two boats would have cut expenses to less than half — from March, 1888, to November, 1889, they were $71,219 — and have served other missions. The statement, above, of the conditions and requirements justifies the criticism, frequently made previously by disinterested and qualified judges, that to expect American or European missionaries in African tropics to support themselves by manual labor under the swordlike sunbeams of a vertical sun is unintentional manslaughter. Taylor replied that natives were employed, and were trained into industry, all heavy work outside of leadership and superintendency being done by them. The frightful death rate among his missionaries,—for vacant places were filled in the spirit with which Loyola and Napoleon regarded life, the warrior employing men as arms to shatter obstacles, the church-leader using them



BISHOPS TAYLOR AND HARTZELL

as foundation-piles for the courses of Christian Africa — rendered such a method imperative.

The bishop, on account of non-efficiency due to age, was in 1896 retired, the Missionary Society adding all his African work to its own, and visited South Africa to evangelize the natives again. His endeavors, however successful, can hardly have been free from proselytism among the converts of other than Methodist or Wesleyan missions. Joseph C. Hartzell, D.D., for many years chief of the Freedmen's Aid and Education Society, where work for American Negroes prepared him for after activities in Africa itself, was chosen in his stead, and reached Liberia in 1897. He found, as in 1898 he publicly and repeatedly stated, that "the mission-work of our church is not what it had been represented to be". From personal inspection of the Liberian missions he ascertained that "the expenses of the stations were far beyond anything anticipated; many of the missionaries had proved unfit; of eighty-eight persons sent ten years ago only twelve were in the field; of the fifty stations opened only twenty-five were said to be occupied; out of forty-five thousand coffee-trees planted scarcely fifteen thousand had been saved; and the coffee sold would not exceed two hundred dollars". Good Bishop Taylor's large plans had miscarried, and the self-supporting missions among Liberian pagans, though impelled by the impact of his apostolic personality, had cost about one hundred thousand dollars and a zealot sacrifice of life.

A second visit impressed Bishop Hartzell "still more profoundly" with the idea that "in proportion to our responsibilities as a church in that republic our facilities and forces for mission-work are wholly inadequate.

The brethren of the [Liberian] Conference fully realize this, and plead for reinforcements". A mission-press must be had, and a monthly paper is indispensable. The educational work is to be enlarged as rapidly as possible. The Liberian youth of to-day are more poorly taught than their fathers. "There is sad lack of educated men and women to assist Methodism in Liberia. . . . Common schools, if possible, should be established throughout the republic. The Methodist Church has too long been in the van [?] to consent to second or third rank; but unless the education of the younger part of our congregations receive more encouragement and help than for fifteen years past, we shall be compelled to take second place. Already a goodly number of young men born in our church have, from neglect and indifference on our part, gone to other denominations, and are priests, ordained ministers or deacons in sister-churches".

Bishop Hartzell reconstituted Monrovia Seminary as the College of West Africa, and hopes to organize classes for ministers and teachers. This school will be the only Liberian institution where more than grammar-grades of study will be attempted. The student is to be required to do his utmost toward self-support; then parents and friends will be expected to aid as best they may; and American Methodists ultimately will provide the balance. As dependence upon others has been the Liberian's bane, it is desirable that these judicious provisions prove practicable. It is also well that the Liberian Conference is assessed $130, the Kongo Conference $20, for the support of the work of the Missionary Society. Twenty teachers from schools for Negroes in the southern United States are summoned for Liberia, and several have already volunteered. The bishop also organized

industrial schools; plans to place one in every mission-church; and wants sewing-machines for girls and tools for future blacksmiths, carpenters and tinners. He has recently stationed eighty-five workers in Liberia itself, and gave organic structure to a mission among the British and Portuguese of Madeira. The Liberia Conference comprises the whole western coast north of the equator.

In 1854 Livingstone passed through Angola and prayed that the church might gain harvest in this district. In 1885 Taylor followed his eastward path and founded stations. In 1897 Hartzell united the Angolan, Kongolese and Zambezian missions as a Kongo Mission-Conference. This, with a field-force of thirty missionaries, was the outcome of Taylor's activity and the beginning of answers to Livingstone's prayer. This conference includes all Africa south of the equator.

The Taylor Mission on the Kongo was inaugurated in 1886, cost $200,000 and received fifty-eight missionaries. The results were even sadder, were still more unsatisfactory, than in Liberia. Only five missionaries were at work in 1896; of eight posts founded Banana Point and Vivi remained the sole occupied stations; and the *Anne Taylor* (a $75,000 boat, sold in 1896 for $3,000) and Laputan machinery had sunk a fortune. Meanwhile (1886-95) other societies had pushed their work in the same sections and in regions beyond, some obtaining large results. To attempt to renew Taylor's forward movement was out of question, so expensive in men and means was its scale of operations. The present bishop withdrew, concentrating on Angola and Inhambani*.

The Angolese experience duplicates those of Belgian Kongo and Liberia. Taylor established seven stations

*"There have," he states, "been grave and just criticisms of the administration of the Kongo State; but from all I can learn there have been great improvements." (*The Sun*, New York City, April 10, 1898, p. 10).

between Sao Paulo and Malanji, sent eighty-six missionaries during 1884-96, and spent nearly $100,000 on this field. Eleven missionaries perished, fifty-one returned*. Not all the stations could be occupied; the expectation of large returns from agriculture was not realized, though a mission-endowment trade-fund of $7,000 yielded about $2,000 annually; and the missionaries after toiling for daily bread could not work among the natives as they desired. The work is crippled by lack of funds and by the necessity of furloughs for several of the surviving missionaries, a number of whom have served twelve years. In Angola, as in Liberia, there must be a mission-press. Two orphanages exist, but school-houses and at least three church-buildings are required. There remains no room for wonder that in 1897, after a survey of Angola, Kongo and Liberia, Hartzell said: "The results have as a whole been disappointing".

In 1890 Taylor recognized the work of Dr E. H. Richards at Inhambani, whence the American Board in 1892 formally withdrew, and in 1893-94 Richards acquired the mission-plant for him. In 1895-96 New Zealand had four representatives in the East African mission, but they quickly retired and during 1896-97 the field lay dormant. Four American missionaries are now there, and despite dreary financial prospects the brave bishop plans to open stations at Beira, at Delagoa Bay and in eastern Rhodesia. In this last sphere work is to be developed among the colonists, who themselves are too frequently pagans, and an industrial mission for the aborigines is to be opened at a central point. The South Africa Company shows practical sympathy, and this may without impropriety be accepted, but a note of warning needs to be sounded. Christianity can never

*See *Minutes of Kongo Conference*, 1897, pp. 22-24 for an able defense of Angola as a health-resort.

afford to be compromised by association with individuals or organizations of questionable antecedents, and must avoid even the appearance of evil. The Jameson raid, one of its freebooters declared, was piracy, and the British Parliament's investigation left it morally certain that the South Africa Company was guilty of crime. It is noble to work for Anglo-American fellowship in Christianizing Africa; but it will prove nobler and wiser for missions to avoid entanglements with corporations that have the slightest smell of fire on their raiment. Religious enterprises assisted by worldlings of doubtful repute can scarcely receive spiritual blessing and win permanent results. A curse may even come.

The Missionary Society in 1898 recognized twenty-five of the appointees of the former bishop as its own missionaries; decided that there should be no regular scale of salaries; and took the properties of the Transit-and-Building-Fund Society. It is spending $10,000 this year in Liberia, $4,250 in Angola, but "the scanty appropriations" are eked out by special funds. Bishop Hartzell, it is pathetic to note, brought $350 from the missionaries as their heroic contribution toward paying the society's debt. Hopeful claims are made for new financial methods, but it looks as if the Methodist query: "Is there not altogether too great a tendency in our dispensation to send too cheap men?" were again to receive affirmative answer.

In summing up the outcome and the outlook the conclusions of history as to certain points may already be anticipated. On others its verdict must be awaited.

Bishop Taylor possesses magnificent qualities — as devoutness and fervor — and suffers from their defects — asceticism and fanatic intensity. He saw only what concerned religious matters. When he perceived that

his plans were impracticable and of cruel cost, he ought immediately to have relinquished them. But it is William Taylor who led the desperate van; for twelve crucial years held Africa before his church; and gave occasion for the present interest. The Methodist Church was at fault in 1884, not in its representative, but in permitting his method. Yet if the demonstration of the impracticableness of self-supporting missions in tropical Africa has convinced this vast, powerful body of their unjustifiability, the terrible lesson may have been worth the price. There is a truth in the principle of self-support, and this principle must be applied. It has appeared advisable also to state its inapplicability with some fulness of detail. Again, American Methodism, in its present attitude and temper toward Africa, justifies our taking courage. Bishop Mallalieu avowed for Methodism that his church was not to abandon Africa if Taylor fell. Stewart Missionary-Foundation for Africa is doing needed work in educating and inspiring men. Doctor Hartzell's irenic personality, intelligent zeal and administrative experience aid him to cope with African difficulties. Best of all cheering symptoms, the church acts and speaks in a sober spirit of healthy self-criticism. Less than this could not be said. More than this need not be said. Already "three lessons have been partly learned by American Methodists: (1) Missionaries should be physically, mentally and spiritually strong; (2) evangelization must largely depend on natives; and (3) Africans are as responsive to the gospel as peoples of any clime and color". May American Methodism learn wisdom for all future time from her sad experience in Africa, the saddest in African missions since that of the Portuguese and the Jesuit in Kongo.

For the sake of completeness mention may here be

made of several organizations whose African interests complement the work of the Missionary Society. Several of the following societies ought, perhaps, to be mentioned in one or other of the later chapters; but as this passage is composed after they have gone to press it is inserted here and indulgence is desired.

The American Bible-Society (undenominational) has granted Arabic Scriptures and a new edition of the New Testament in Tonga to Bishop Hartzell. The Chicago Deaconess-Home and the Chicago Training-School are establishing Methodist deaconess-work in Africa; claim to have twelve women there and two in the Antilles; and report a deaconess-home at Cape Palmas, Liberia. Folts Mission-Institute and the Boston, New York, San Francisco, Washington City and other training-schools also, it is presumed, supply recruits for mission-work among Africans. The Bible, studied analytically, book by book; sacred history, nursing and medicine; drill in Sunday-schools, evangelizing, kindergartens, kitchen-gardens and visiting; practical experience in city missions; and instrumental music and voice-culture are the means used to qualify the deaconess for missions. Folts Institute, moreover, adds the study of non-Christian religions and of sociology. The Epworth League aids Africa by inspiring Methodist youth with zeal for missions. The Sunday-School Union does special work among the colored people of the South, and (since 1847?) has aided Sunday-schools in Africa. *The Year-Book* names Cape Palmas and Monrovia Seminary and Kru School as Methodism's mission-schools in Africa. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society — with eleven branches, one hundred and fifty-one thousand, four hundred and sixty-seven members and disbursements of $323,907 — sends and supports missionaries; sustains

native Bible-readers and teachers; founds orphanages; and establishes schools for girls. The Woman's Home Missionary Society has more than three hundred workers (including deaconesses) and hundreds of other virtual missionaries in the American fields, and in the southern states maintains industrial schools and model homes for black as well as white Americans*. The church, it is a joy to state in conclusion, is magnificently organized for an aggressive forward movement upon Africa. May the means, the men and the spirit for advance be speedily forthcoming!

The Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (colored) entered Africa in 1876; the African Methodist Episcopal Church (colored) in 1877; the Free Methodists in 1883; and the Wesleyans in 1889. All are Americans. The Zion mission, in Liberia, has struggled under many discouragements, but, it was claimed in 1893, was improving. The missions of the African Church began in Liberia, extended into Sierra Leone and include Haiti and San Domingo. These Negro Methodist denominations are accused of scandalous proselytism from other churches. The African Church has two conferences, sixty ministers and five thousand members in South Africa. Bishop Turner, who has just come from bringing the native Christians of other churches into his, "believes that the African Church has a greater future in South Africa than in Liberia". There is an "Ethiopian Church" in Transvaal, and the procedure of Bishop Turner and the Transvaal Conference is unconventional and quite unprecedented. The Free Methodist mission-board

*_The Gospel In All Lands_ (vol. 19, no. 6, June, 1898); the _Minutes_ of the Kongolese and Liberian Conferences, 1897; the _Report_ of the Missionary Society, 1897; and _The Methodist Year-Book_ for 1898, all supplemented by private correspondence and interviews with the representatives of Methodism's missionary interests, form the sources for each of the statements as to Methodism in Africa. Even sentences, more than a few, are quoted verbatim.

works in the Dominican Republic and Natal, and was at Inhambani in the southeastern corner of Portuguese East Africa. Its plant at the latter post was acquired from the American Congregationalists when they moved to Gazaland. The Free Methodist Pentecost Bands consisted of young people who in squads of four attempted to hold revivals among the pagans. A band entered Liberia in 1889, but the movement as a whole soon reached its end. The American Wesleyans have but one African mission, — that in Sierra Leone. It is two hundred miles inland toward French Sûdan; fosters educational and medical work; and would seem to be doing well. The African Methodists of the United States have also a Women's Mite Society that acts as an auxiliary to the mission-board in the evangelization of Haiti. The British Wesleyans possess a Ladies' Auxiliary of their mission-society, that sends and sustains its own missionaries, and in South Africa has nearly a hundred schools.

The Primitive Methodists of England opened missions at Cape Colony and Fernando Po in 1870. Twenty years later the van of a lost troop pushed far northward, advancing among the savage Shukulumbi between Zambezi River and Lokinga Mountains. Though the mission in Cape Colony at the border of Orange presents no unique features, that at the corner of the Gulf of Guinea possesses the romance of missions. The Baptist missionaries of twenty years before had accomplished lasting results. The black converts, having the Scriptures, remained Christians. When a Methodist carpenter visited the island and gathered the natives for worship, he found this remnant. The faithful few begged him to become their pastor, as the change in Spain from monarchy to republicanism had bestowed religious freedom upon this

Spanish dependency. This he could not do; but the mission-committee of his church in England granted the request for missionaries. Despite the unfriendliness of Roman priests and frequent interference from civic authorities the work has in the main prospered. About 1890 an understanding was effected with Spain. Arrangements have been made for increased educational advantages that will enlarge the usefulness of the mission. The work bids fair to increase in extent and influence until the whole isle is occupied.

The United Free Methodists of Britain have worked among the Jamaican Negroes since 1838, but did not approach Africa before 1859. The reception of native Christians of Sierra Leone into the Methodist body turned the attention of United Methodists to this field. After thirty-five years of endeavor their native communicants number about three thousand. A native ministry must be created. For this purpose a ministerial institute has been founded in Sierra Leone, and has already prepared Negro clergymen. In East Africa the experience has been less depressing, as the mission was sponsored by Krapf. When United Methodism was seeking a new field (1861), Krapf's advice was asked. He naturally recommended East Africa, and volunteered to conduct and settle the missionaries. They established themselves among the Nyika, twelve miles behind Mombaz, and about 1886 reached Galla settlements on Tana River and at Witu, points nearly two hundred miles up the coast. Mrs Wakefield, though living but three years after reaching Zanzibar, is said to have evinced a "courage loftier than that of Joan of Arc". A Negro minister from West Africa has proved a most efficient and successful agent. Since 1890 the posts have enjoyed peace and prosperity, and seem rich in promise. The mission

is already a factor in mitigating domestic slavery and ending the slave-trade.

Francke the spiritually-minded Lutheran pietist of Germany was God's agent to interest Samuel and Susannah Wesley in missions. Zinzendorf the spiritual son of Francke was as fully a divine instrumentality in making John Wesley a missionary as were Wesley's parents. If Methodism was born in and into missions, it owes its birth to piety and its birth-right to the Unity of Brethren. To Germany, too, must Methodism look for the ultimate source of a successful African mission that is Methodist rather than Lutheran or Presbyterian. The German Reformed Church, a Presbyterian body, sent Otterbein as a missionary to Presbyterian Germans in America (1752-1813). In 1800 he organized his followers into The United Brethren in Christ, a church of Arminian creed and Methodist polity. The phrase, United Brethren, and the fact that the Bohemio-Moravian *Unitas Fratrum* is generally mentioned as the United Brethren lead to frequent but groundless confusion of the two churches. The connection between the two lies in such spiritual influence as pietism exerted on both and in their common loyalty to the Christ's missionary-command. The Brethren in Christ, though not organically affiliated with any Methodist organization, can less unfitly be considered in connection with Methodist denominations than elsewhere.

Though numbering but two hundred thousand communicants, these aggressive Christians, whose advanced attitude against slavery prevented expansion in the south before 1863, have since 1854 promoted missions in Sierra Leone. Their missionaries visited four hundred towns in a territory whose area almost equals that of New Jersey, and founded seven stations. In 1898 they suf-

fered a cruel blow in the unprovoked massacre of fourteen of their staff by the natives. In a single week the work of three-and-forty years fell before an outburst of the most fiendish savagery. How many of the native Christians perished is not yet known. Nor is it at this date determined whether the mission will be resumed. For one, however, the present writer believes that it will be*. The seven stations excluded three independently maintained by the women of the church. A training-school on the field was preparing many Negro missionaries. The native Christians outnumbered those of any other American mission in Africa, except the United Presbyterians in Egypt, and comprised ten thousand adherents, of whom over half were communicants. Though part of the credit for success among the Mindi belongs to American Congregationalists, whose Missionary *Association*, — *not* the American Board — worked among them from 1841 to 1883 and after 1877 was assisted by Negro missionaries from Fisk University,— the bulk of the achievement is due to the United Brethren.

**The Independent*, vol. L, no. 2584 (June 9, 1898) p. 13.

CHAPTER 11

1660 = 1898

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN AFRICAN MISSIONS

Palmam qui meruit, ferat.

RELATIVE VALUES. AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM IN WEST AFRICA. OLD=SCHOOL PRESBYTERIANS IN LIBERIA. CORISCO AND GABÛN. SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANS IN BELGIAN KONGO. PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN OF AMERICA: THEIR AFRICAN INTERESTS. DUTCH AND GERMAN REFORMED CHURCHES AS AFRICAN MISSIONARIES. HUGUENOT MISSIONS. AMONG SUTU AND SENEGALESE. UP THE ZAMBEZI. SWISS PRESBYTERIANS IN AFRICA. SCOTCH PRESBYTERIANISM. THE FREE CHURCH IN KAFRARIA AND ZULULAND. NYASA MISSIONS. REMARKS. SCOTCH UNITED PRESBYTERIANS IN JAMAICA. A TYPICAL MISSION IN THE AFRICAN TROPICS. SCOTCH PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN AND AFRICA. AMERICAN UNITED PRESBYTERIANS IN EGYPT. THE BEGINNING AND THE DIFFICULTIES. THE TURN OF THE TIDE. METHODS AND RESULTS. AMERICAN WOMANHOOD AND EGYPTIAN WOMEN. NATIVE EGYPTIANS: THEIR WORK. THE IMPERIAL IMPORTANCE OF EGYPT. MEANING AND VALUE OF THIS EGYPTIAN MISSION.

Presbyterianism boasts forty=eight bearers of its blue banner into Africa. But Dutch and German Presbyterians have accomplished next to nothing. The Huguenots of France and Switzerland have done what they could. The Presbyterians of America have with one exception been so circumstanced that the geographical situation has confined them to the day of small things. Scotch Presbyterians and the United Presbyterians of the United States have achieved the wonderful results. The work of the Americans in Egypt and the Scots in Cape Colony and Nyasaland stands first in importance

on account of the relation of these British holdings north and south to the main axis of Africa, to its trunk-line of communication and civilization and to Europe. It, therefore, though the Scotch United Presbyterians have succeeded grandly at Old Calabar, forms the finale of Presbyterian missions in Africa.

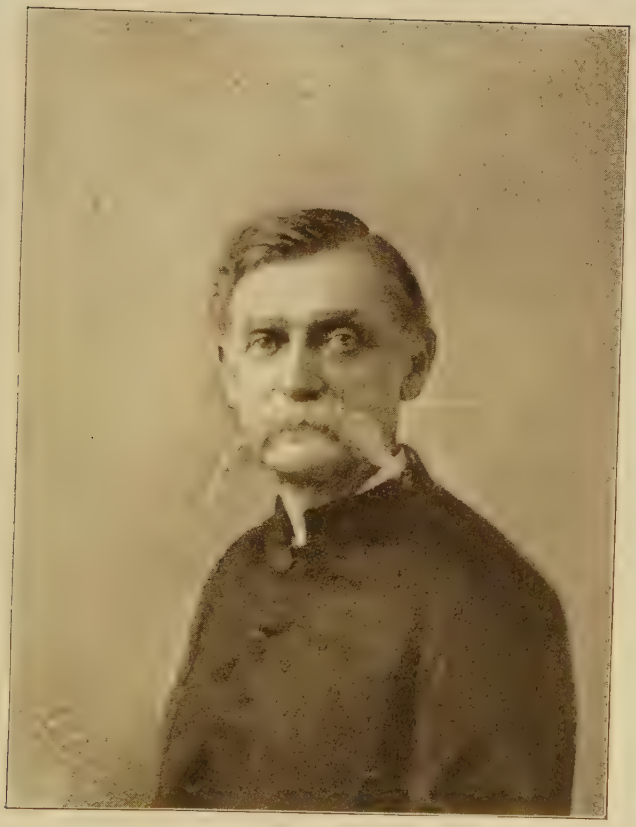
The missions of American Presbyterians date from 1833, and center on Liberia, Gabûn and Kongo. When the new and old schools separated (1838), the former prosecuted mission-work as before through the American Board; the latter, through the board of missions established by the general assembly of 1837 as its permanent committee. Any account of American Presbyterians in Africa, 1833-61, is an account of the activity of the southern Presbyterians and the old school of northern Presbyterians. From 1861 to 1870 it belongs to the old-school Presbyterians of the north. Since 1870 it is also common to both wings of the re-united northern Presbyterians. Since 1890 it has again become a record of the southern Presbyterian church. Until 1861 the Presbyterians in the southern commonwealths of the United States were one with the old-school Presbyterians of the north. Then they formed a separate body that did not enter Africa before 1890. Upon the re-union of the northern Presbyterians in 1870 the American Board transferred its missions at Gabûn to them. Ever since they have prosecuted foreign missions through their own board.

The Liberian mission originated with a Pittsburg society, but has since 1837 been carried by the church at large. Work among the natives was the primary object from the first, only incidental attention being paid to the colonists. The fortunes of the mission followed those of the republic. As early as 1848 sufficient success had

been attained for erecting the presbytery of West Africa. From 1850 to 1860 excellent work was done. Men were trained who have been a credit. The experiment of sending only colored ministers had been tried in 1842, but not even these American Negroes were exempt from fever, while their slave-origin disqualified them for skilful conduct of affairs. White men were again sent, but Liberian Presbyterianism fell into the hands of Negro clergy, some of them born in slavery and none enjoying more than third-rate education. During 1860-70 their churches were prostrated, nor have they since done more than hold their own. A few colored missionaries from America have gone to Liberia. A few Liberians have been educated in America, and have returned. "But," the Presbyterian author of *Planting the Kingdom* affirms, "the force is not equal to aggressive campaign. It will require vigorous policy and unstinted expenditure to lift Liberia along the path originally staked out".

The great mortality among Liberian missionaries and the comparative freedom from fever at Gabûn, now French Kongo, led the Presbyterians about 1850 to select Corisco, a French islet opposite Gabûn and just above the equator, as a new field. Though Gabûn did not become strictly a Presbyterian mission before 1870, the force was predominantly Presbyterian. Wilson of South Carolina was its great soul. He viewed events with the vision of a statesman. He spoke the word that maintained the blockade when it would have been lifted before the extinction of the slave-trade. Livingstone pronounced his work on West Africa to be the best book on this topic. It was hoped for the Corisco mission that its insular position would insure exemption from fever, and that the natives after being educated could undertake the danger and exposure of carrying Christianity

afar. Neither hope was realized. The island proved quite as malarial as the main. Ceaseless tribal troubles rendered it impracticable for Christian natives to penetrate any distance from their tribe. Yet it was granted to institute preparations for the evangelization of the mainland. The insular stations were consolidated into one, and permanent lodgment effected (1865) on the coast. Since then the sphere of Corisco has been almost wholly confined to the continent. The year 1870 found the Coriscan and Gabûnese mission prostrate, but union infused new life. As compared with 1833 the attitude of the Presbyterian church toward African problems had undergone a revolution. A new era for missions resulted. The time to widen had come. West Africa received her turn. The Ogowai was explored for Christian purposes, and a virgin field opened. Stations have been occupied at Corisco, on the Gabûn estuary, up the Ogowai river for two hundred and fifteen miles and among the Bule of Kamerûn. Drs Nassau and Good, the last a greater Hannington, may be mentioned among the many who have made this mission an honor to American Presbyterianism. The usual results have been obtained in the reduction of languages, the translation of religious and educational literature and the creation of Christian society. The Benga have all of the New and part of the Old Testament; the important Fan (Pahuin), Genesis and Matthew. The Kombe chief is a Christian, and has already reformed the marriage-laws. Though the field is one of exceptional difficulty on account of political complications as well as of barbarism and sin, the people are affectionate, docile and hospitable. Ancient customs are passing away. Witchcraft murders are less frequent. Homes and costumes are more civilized. Education is sought for its own sake, —



DOCTOR ROBERT H. NASSAU

and paid for. Native licentiates and candidates for the ministry have rapidly increased. A Lingi woman has become a soul-winner. A remarkable tendency toward self-support has manifested itself. At one station the inquirers sent Christian lads in pairs into the villages to preach.

Owing to different sections of this mission-field being under French, German or Portuguese control, the missionaries have had national jealousies and narrow-mindedness to contend with. In 1883 the French government decreed that in primary schools teaching must be in French, and half the time spent in studying French. So serious hindrance ensued that, if evangelistic aims were not to be hopelessly distracted, French teachers had to be procured. Finally the station highest up the Ogowai was transferred to a Parisian society. In 1897 it founded its first native church among the Fan (Huin or Pa-Huin), "in whose traditions", Allegret claims, "we have discovered traces of a belief in one God, all-powerful, eternal, creator, preserver". Within the German limits no trouble need be apprehended so long as German is taught. Meanwhile rich spiritual blessing rewarded the faithful, long-suffering and much-tried workers. Hundreds were brought into the churches. Ample funds have been specially provided to evangelize the pygmies made known by Chaillu.

For many years the southern Presbyterians cherished a longing to found an African mission. In 1861 Wilson of Gabûn became the secretary of their mission-committee and the father of the work. He was earnest and constant in his advocacy of undertaking a new enterprise, but obstacles prevented the accomplishment of his heart's desire till after his death. Nevertheless these Presbyterians were convinced that their vast Negro pop-

ulation constituted a providential call to Africa. In 1890 they commissioned Sheppard the child of slave-parents and Lapsley the son of old-time slave-holders to found a mission in Belgian Kongo. The appointment of the black missionary is of special significance. He is a graduate of Hampton and of Tuscaloosa, the former a school established by the Congregationalists, the latter a seminary instituted by southern Presbyterians exclusively for Negro ministers. He awakened Presbyterianism in the south to its duty toward Africa. He offered himself. He is the first of his race to be sent by that church to the ancestral home of his fathers. In Belgium and England the two received every encouragement, it being reported that King Leopold at a personal interview expressed interest in their enterprise. The black and the white locked hands in Christian brotherhood, and worked in harmony. At the Kasai-Kwango junction, seven hundred miles east of Kongo-mouth, they founded a pioneer post. Then the Negro missionary pushed into Kuba, far north-east, where native jealousy and sagacity prevented white men from gaining entrance*. African ancestry and sancified mother-wit won him the favor of chief and people. The result is the opening of a new domain of missionary interest, with one church, seven stations, a staff of eleven Americans and two hundred and twelve communicants, under conditions exceptionally propitious. Thus a singular grace has been given to this Presbyterian church. Acting on an impulse from the self-same presbytery that in days of slavery carried the infant presbytery of Liberia; invoking the memory of Wilson; and employing representatives of its black and white races, — it has at last answered the

*A German explorer had previously visited the country.

THE REVEREND W. H. SHEPPARD, F. R. G. S.

passionate yearning of more than sixty years for foothold at the heart of Africa.

In their mission-methods American Presbyterians have ever assigned the chief place as an evangelistic agency to preaching. Not sufficient stress is laid on school and press and hospital and dispensary. Only here and there is experimental effort with the industrial arts attempted.

The African interests of the Presbyterian women of America are fostered by six women's boards among the northern Presbyterians; by a feminine society among the United Presbyterians; and by unorganized work on the part of the women among the southern Presbyterians. The women's organizations are sometimes more aggressive in their enterprise than the men's boards. They recommend and support missionaries, though these are appointed and stationed by the general board. In the northern Presbyterian church these societies, while independent in management, move side by side in the foreign field, and share each new enterprise. They seem to endure the cruel climate as well as men, if not better, for in 1897 Mrs Reutlinger completed thirty-six years of service. They have built and are sailing a schooner in West Africa. They have specially developed Bible-work by Bible-women, the memory of one of whom at Gabûn will long be cherished. Though she could not read, she had a store of Scriptural lore that she imparted with quaint impressiveness. She could not write but, to number meetings, tied knots in a string. Several ladies give their entire time to native women. Boat-journeys and visits to riverain towns are prominent features of the work. It was a woman-missionary at Gabûn that translated *Pilgrim's Progress* into Benga.

The Dutch of South Africa, although the first to settle, are the latest Protestants to engage in African missions*. Their church-bodies now number three or four, that of Cape Colony having three hundred thousand people, eleven missions among the aborigines and a mission-society that shows increasing signs of life. Some day Boer and British Presbyterianism throughout Austral Africa will federate in one church, and become a great missionary. Boers also have their own fashion of carrying on the moderate measure of mission-work that they actually perform. The African Dutch take hold, not so much through any organized society, as through individuals, families, committees. In Nyasaland Dutch Presbyterian clergymen, formerly missionaries at stations of the Scotch Free Presbyterians, but now among the central and southern Ngoni, are supported not by the members of the Dutch Reformed Church but by a few of its ministers†. In Transvaal the very men who expelled Livingstone and murdered his converts strive with their sons to benefit the black men around them. The Boer Farm Mission is a unique and worthy enterprise, employing the patriarchal ways of Abraham with his family. Even the state, as, for instance, the Orange Free State, grants funds for mission-schools among natives. Holland itself has of late years attempted African work, the Ermelo Society essaying the evangelization of the Kopt and the Dutch Protestant Mission-Society being also enlisted among African agencies.

The North German Society originally possessed a constituency of Lutherans and Presbyterians, but by the withdrawal of the former it has become almost exclusively

*Yet it has been claimed that a missionary was evangelizing Hottentots in 1660.

†A Dutch Reformed mission works among Nyai peoples near the southern turn of the Limpopo. See *Africa Waiting*, pp. 100, 101, 107, 115 and 116 for additional information.

a society of the latter. It therefore ranks among Presbyterian bodies. It attempted work in 1847 at Corisco, but the refusal of the French government to permit work led the Germans to an Ewe tribe inland from the Gold Coast. This Ewe region is now part of German Togo. The history of this mission has been a sad experience of disease and death. Of one hundred and fourteen missionaries sent here within forty years, fifty-seven died from the effects of the climate and forty returned broken in health. The ceaseless brawls between petty chiefs or between Europeans and the degraded natives have also cruelly hampered the work. But since the Ashanti war and especially since the German annexations the rate of progress has increased rapidly. Education, both primary and higher, has received much attention, and the training of native agents has been strongly pushed. The education of young tribesmen in Wuerttemberg is a special feature. The numerical result of forty-seven years of suffering and toil consists of one thousand Negro Christians.

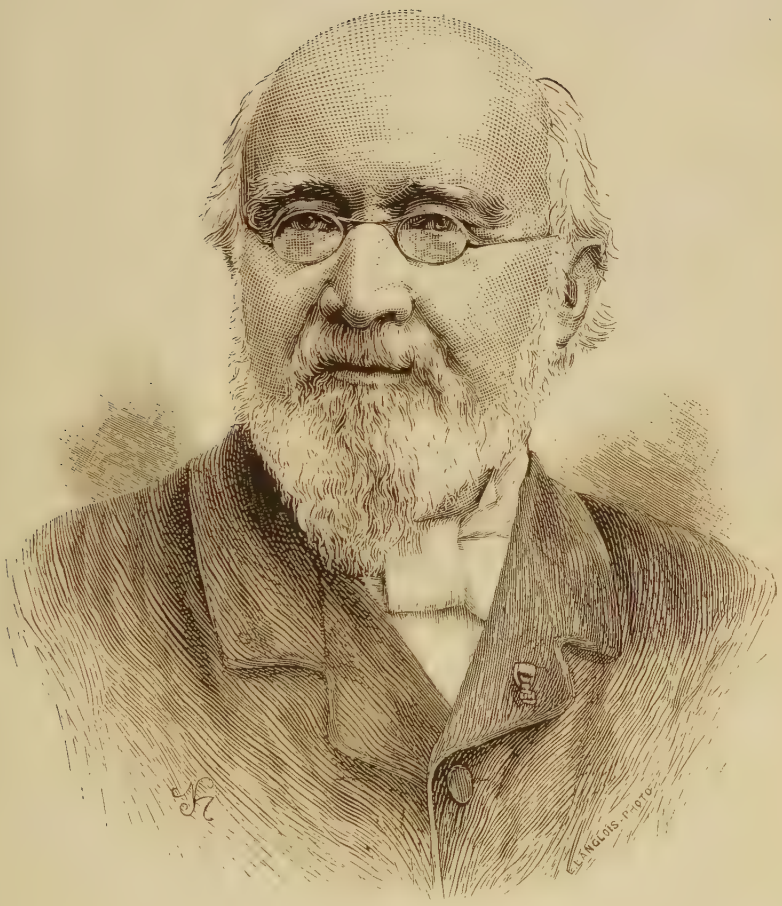
France sent her first Huguenot representatives, since 1684-88, to Africa in 1829*. Four years later at the request of a chief who advanced two hundred of his finest kine in pay, the Parisian mission-society established a station in the country of the Sutu (1833)†. This region between Cape Colony, Natal and Orange Free State is an African Switzerland, and has remained the chief field of French Protestantism. Its very smallness proved a physical factor in Christianity becoming the dominant force. Malan characterized the mission as one of the grandest achievements accomplished by the Christianity of the nineteenth century. It is a Star of the South.

*With the Huguenots of 1684 came also a few Waldensians from Piedmont.
†Basuto = Ba-Suto = Sutu.

The educational work is expressed by one hundred and fifty elementary schools with seventy-five hundred pupils, a normal school, a high-school for girls, an industrial school, a Bible-school and a theological seminary. The high standard of missionaries is remarkable. Casalis, Dyke, Prochet, Rolland and others are a glory, not to Huguenot Christianity alone, but to the church universal. Nor must Aser be forgotten. This Sutu Christian blazed the path of Sutu missions on the Zambezi, and set the pace for the native converts in other South African missions. The Nyai expedition that resulted finally in the Ba-Rotse mission was not only undertaken but proposed and planned by Sutu Presbyterians. The spiritual activity has brought a harvest of two hundred and fifty-three Sutu workers, five thousand catechumens and ten thousand communicants*. The Gospel-Propagation Society and the Romanist have disregarded comity, but made comparatively little mischief. The blot on the French scutcheon was the encouragement of the Sutu to fight the British and the decoration of the mission-chief with the ribbon of the Legion of Honor "for advancing the interests of France in Austral Africa". Yet no missionaries in South Africa come closer to the right method of handling the problems of native society than do the Huguenots.

The Paris Society also toiled from 1829 to 1879 among pagan populations in Cape Colony. Then the native Christians were transferred to colonial Dutch Presbyterians. Work was carried on among the Chwana until 1848, when the mission was resigned to the English

*In 1897 there were twenty-three French missionaries, sixteen stations, one hundred and forty outstations and fifteen thousand adult Christians. (How many of these are adherents; how many communicants?) The chief is so pleased with the manual training-school, which teaches useful trades to young Sutu, that he has taxed his people $20,000 for a second industrial school. Pouleteney Bigelow's book, entitled *White Man's Africa*, contains a chapter of amusingly absurd accusations of Moshesh and the Sutu.



THE REVEREND MONSIEUR CASALIS

Congregationalists, and in Transvaal until 1866, when the Berlin Society (I) accepted these stations. At Senegal in 1862 the society founded a mission that has suffered great hardships. The climate is murderous, Muhammadanism refractory and Rome strong. The right method is yet to be found. The true field lies in French Sûdan on the upper Niger. Yet the station at St Louis has been maintained, and another established eighty miles up Senegal River. In 1885 work among the Kabyles of Algeria was inaugurated. Two years later the American Presbyterians at Gabûn asked the Parisian society for French teachers as assistants in their schools, the government having forbidden the instruction of the natives in any language but French. This was the origin of the youngest mission but one of the Huguenots. Teachers and an industrial assistant went out in 1888. Next year two young ordained missionaries visited the American stations on Ogowai River. The result was that, at the wish of the American Presbyterians and Count Brazza, the Paris Society founded a mission in French Kongo, the Americans transferring their posts in most brotherly wise (1892).

It is now working in fellowship with the British Congregationalists in Madagascar. The French Presbyterian removes the Malagasi misapprehension that only Britons are Protestants, that all Gaul is Roman in religion and that loyalty to the French government requires rejection of Protestantism. The evangelical French missionary, if resolute, may yet show himself the most powerful factor in the redemption of Madagascar from the Jesuit.

The minor missions introduce a romance which must be set by itself in bolder relief. It had long been perceived that a part was reserved for the Sutu in the conversion of South Africa. It was known that the Rutsi

(Ba-Rotse) of the upper Zambezi above Victoria Falls where Livingstone had met Sibituani, the Kololo conqueror, spoke the Sutu language. Aser the Sutu gained the confidence of the Nyai, at the confluence of the Kaful and Zambezi Rivers, and besought his countrymen to evangelize them. In 1877 Mr and Mrs Coillard* endeavored to open a mission-field for their Sutu Christians. Disasters befell the first two parties, and Lobengula balked the project through imprisonment of the missionaries. But the Coillards again traveled to the upper Zambezi, became interested in its peoples, and returned in the assurance that Zambezia is the providential field for Sutu evangelists. They resolved to give up their home and work among the Sutu, and to follow the footsteps of Livingstone. As the result of a visit to Europe to plead for this part of Africa, an evangelical, undenominational mission to the Zambezi was inaugurated in 1884. It is supported by special funds, but remains under the care of the Paris Society. After an arduous journey of more than a thousand miles from the Sutu, part of it across Kalahari Desert, this brave man and still braver woman reached Sesheke the capital. The hope that the Sutu would become factors in the Christianizing of Africa had received its first realization, for the mission-staff includes several Sutu catechists. With dauntless faith and far-seeing wisdom the Coillards themselves left their companions at the comparatively European settlement, and pushed out to a still more isolated post in the Rutsi valley up the river. These missions suffer serious disadvantages from the absence of a base on the sea and a line of supporting stations, both of them as essential in missionary as in military operations; but they have held their ground, — an argu-

**The Missionary Review* for June, 1896, contains a tribute, as just as glowing, to Mrs Coillard. It appeared too late for use.

ment greatly in their favor; and, as Europeans enter, the communications and material situation improve. The spiritual successes of Uganda are repeating themselves. After ten years of seed-sowing a great ingathering occurred in 1895. It is seen already that in this attempt the Coillards were statesmen for the kingdom of God. King Lewanika is still virtually independent, but the British South Africa Company has environed him against his will with a sphere of influence. If he has frequently been a great trouble, and if the work be still in its first stages, undeniable indications show that Christianity is winning. Much subsoiling is needed; the great and noble missionary emphatically declares that if Africa is ever to be Christianized, this must be secured by Africans themselves; but the fruit from this seed will be rich and permanent. The Jamaican author of *Romance and Reality in South Africa*, himself a keen critic, confesses that "if he has seen one mission that more than another deserves the full sympathy and hearty support of Christians, it is this*".

The Free Churches of French Switzerland, though a feeble folk and not entering Africa until 1875, are the physical and spiritual kinsmen of the Huguenots. The African mission of Swiss Presbyterianism which is carried on by churches in Geneva, Neufchatel and Vaud, was founded among the Gwamba of Transvaal, who perhaps number one million. Some of their clans dwell in the northern districts of Transvaal bordering Limpopo River, but the majority are settled farther east, in its basin and near the Portuguese settlement of Lourenço Marquez. The missionaries located themselves north of Transvaal, and such was their spiritual success that as early as 1893 the native church was filled with the

*See Coillard's *On the Threshold of Central Africa* (English translation).

evangelistic spirit. Missions were pushed by the Gwamba themselves. Many thought about their old home. A band of Gwamba missionaries filled Delagoa Bay and its neighborhood with the news of salvation. To-day this Delagoan mission boasts of a thousand converts and five hundred school-children. In 1891 Gungunyana, the head-chief of Gazaland, invited the mission to evangelize his land. Every year a missionary spends months at his village, and the mission has printed books that are understood throughout the country. Thus the Swiss Presbyterians have two new and distinct fields of labor in addition to their old one. Here, however, the discovery of new gold-fields in Transvaal (1886) compelled the missions to fight hard to hold their own. It is but recently that the native Christians regained their previous influence.

The Glasgow and the Scotch Missionary Societies had joined with the London Society (1796) in sending a missionary inland from Sierra Leone. Thus the entrance of Scotland on the African mission-field is not so late as is generally supposed, nor did the foreign missions of her Presbyterian churches originate with any one party. The first and last of the societies named originated in two or more denominations. The story runs beyond the rise of the Free Church. Not meeting with success, the Glasgow Society dispatched a representative to the Kafirs in 1821. When the jubilee-year of 1871 arrived, this mission had filled the land with churches and Christian communities, with schools and colleges. Despite wars and unsettled circumstances the lone station of Kafir huts had grown into ten evangelistic centers with over seventy out-stations. In 1838 the union of the state-church and the dissenters in the Glasgow Society was amicably dissolved, the former retaining the old

name and four of the stations, while the nonconformists styled themselves the Glasgow African Society and took the other four posts. The Established Church had thus started hand-in-hand with some if not all of the elements that afterwards formed the Free Church, though six years later the Glasgow Missionary Society transferred Lovedale Institution to the Free Church, while in 1847 the other section joined the United Presbyterians. The Scotch Missionary Society of 1796 had been interdenominational, and from it the United Presbyterians received their African and Jamaican missions. The division of the Kafrarian field between the Free and the United Presbyterians increased the resources and led to larger results. Both churches placed the standard high for native churches and each has developed a good Kafir clergy. In 1843, upon the disruption of the Established Church, its missionaries and converts themselves passed to the Free Church, leaving the plant and the capital behind. The new church thus enjoyed the great but — to the honor of her elder sister be it said — the ungrudged advantage of beginning her career with mission-fields and mission-forces ready to her hand. She has felt the stimulus ever since, and the blessing has been large. Though there were only eighteen hundred dollars in the treasury of foreign missions, one of her two earliest acts was to undertake a Kafir mission. Before the state-church, however, could enter Africa again, a generation had to pass away.

Lovedale has so developed as to be the recognized type of an industrial mission. As such it requires and receives presentation at another place*. Here it need

*The Anglicans have Grahamston Kafir Institution, St Matthew's Keiskama Hoek in Kafraria and Zonnebloem at Cape Town; the American Congregationalists, Amanzimtote School; and the Scotch Free Presbyterians, Blythswood and Gordon Memorial as other Lovedales. All, however, regard the original Lovedale as the model station.

only be noted that Lovedale is an adaptation of Duff's Hindi mission-school, and has made a greater propaganda than even Alexandria in the days of Origen. Blythswood (founded from Lovedale at the plea of the Fingu) and Impolweni are at its heels as industrial and theological schools for both sexes, training native catechists, preachers and teachers. The field consists to-day of the northern and the southern missions, Blythswood the center of the former and Lovedale of the latter. The northern division works chiefly among the Fingu, and, though far less advanced than the southern field, is rapidly growing. The Fingu themselves largely support Blythswood, and "Sunday after Sunday its *Boys' Missionary Society* meets for prayer, and sends its members to preach to surrounding kraals". The southern section is extending eastward, among the Pondu, since the center of population has shifted to the diamond-fields. These and the gold-fields have drawn away many of the converts. Although followed as faithfully as is feasible, the Kafir themselves evangelizing their own countrymen, lack of means and men prevents the mission from providing for the wanderers. The United Presbyterians divide their Kafrarian mission into a colonial and a Transkeian district, the latter consisting of nearly twice as many congregations as the former. The general aspect of the field is encouraging.

Natal was entered in 1867, when the Free Church, in consequence of Duff's visit, established missions among the Natalan Zulu at Impolweni and Pietermaritzburg. Fair progress has been made, due chiefly to the fruitful work of native, unpaid preachers. In Natal, too, is Gordon Memorial Mission (Umsinga), situated a few miles from the boundary of Zululand, founded in 1874,

and supported by the Ladies' Society of the Free Church.

A direct outcome of these Kafrarian and Natalese missions is Livingstonia on Lake Nyasa, the most interesting and self-sacrificing African field of the Scotch Presbyterians. It is the answer of the churches of Scotland to the appeal of Livingstone, their monument to the memory of the greatest of missionary-explorers. While Duff was strengthening the stakes in South Africa (1864) Livingstone was opening Nyasaland for the lengthening of cords. Ten years later all Scotch Presbyterians united to take the territories most closely associated with their Congregationalist. The Established Church founded Blantyre near Lake Shirwa (Chilwa); the Free Church Livingstonia at the foot of Lake Nyasa and Bandawe on the west shore, midway from north to south. Lovedale itself contributed native Christians. A line of subordinate stations stretches along the lake. Stewart of India, a namesake of Stewart of Lovedale, became the industrial head of Livingstonia mission, laid out for the Established Church the site of Blantyre on the Shire uplands and had roads made around Murchison Falls and between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganika. The Boer mission's occupancy of Chikusi's and of Cape Maclear has set the Free Church foot-loose to follow Stevenson "Road" northward to Mwenzo. Here missionaries are reaching the Emba, the last fighters (now that Elmslie and Laws have made the once wild Ngoni beat their spears into plowshares) to be tamed by heralds of the Prince of Peace. At Blantyre the Established Church has obtained most hopeful results. The church edifice is the largest in inner Africa; was built by native labor in three years; and would be an architectural

adornment to a London suburb. Buchanan, a missionary-gardener, introduced coffee, thus originating the coffee-plantations of the present day*. European flowers and vegetables fill Blantyre gardens; the Ngoni serve as drawers of water and hewers of wood; and the Mañanja and the Yao have become bricklayers and carpenters. A number of the young natives have themselves become missionaries, and the medical mission is overthrowing the degrading belief in witchcraft. Blantyre even boasts a *British Central Africa Gazette*, *Central African Planter* and *Life and Work*. The Free Church missions, despite years of war with slavers and of the Portuguese struggle for priority of rights, have enjoyed rapid progress. Northeastern Rhodesia has been chosen as the permanent center. The New Testament has been translated in eight vernaculars. Native converts print Nyasan literature in Nyasaland itself. *The Aurora* was last year started as a missionary bimonthly. With clerical and medical missionaries are associated teachers and artizan-evangelists†. The work has extended from the lake to the highlands north, west and south. Native churches support missionaries to their countrymen. In one way or another almost every convert is a missionary to his fellow-natives. Thousands flock to the schools — many of which they themselves build — pay fees and purchase books. The medical missions attract hundreds. The workshops are creating civilized Christian communities. The Negro who, twenty years ago, could not work more than four days at a stretch, now submits himself to a five years' apprenticeship. Boatswains, bosses, cooks, house-servants, medical assistants, storekeepers and telegraphers have been made from barbari-

*Johnston, *Brit. Cent. Africa*, p. 160.

†In 1897 the Scotch missionaries numbered twenty-five, the native evangelists one hundred and twelve, the native teachers three hundred and fifty-four.

ans. Nations are being born — and all at a cost of only $35,000 a year. Agriculture and trade are displacing slave-hunts and wars. The present chief of the missions has so thoroughly won the trust of the people that the tribal chiefs all adhered to the missionaries in the struggle against the slavers, and their tribesmen manifested the greatest courage and loyalty in behalf of the British. Indeed the religious and secular successes of the missionaries constitute one of the causes that led the British government to make Nyasaland a protectorate. Yet all lines of effort converge in evangelization, and a great central institute like Lovedale, evangelistic, industrial and educational, is planned. This is to be erected on healthy uplands, where it will form the most advanced outpost on the far-flung line of civilization as it forges forward from the Cape to Uganda and Sudan, and will finally grow into its half-way house. Already Nyasaland is a lesser Britain, with homes of English peace, in tropic Central Africa.

The Nyasan missions enjoy an advantage over the majority of African fields. Almost all the stations occupy lofty sites and, for Central Africa, are quite healthy. Moreover, the costly years of pioneering and privation lie behind. It can not escape observation that the African missions of the Scotch Free Church extend among races of individuality and influence. Not only do they assail the fetich-worship of the Bantu, but from Arabia they are approaching the Somal, most fanatical followers of Islam*. Much good is also accomplished at Aden among rescued slaves from the northern Galla.

Presbyterian missions have largely conduced to the peacefulness of eastern Cape Colony, through Christian-

*The Arabian mission of the American Dutch Reformed Church works among African slaves rescued by British cruisers. See, or, rather, study Johnston's *British Central Africa*, especially pp. 189-206, as to Nyasan missions.

izing and civilizing Kafraria, a great work in which the United Presbyterians are practically, and will yet be corporately, united with the Free Church. A General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa was formed in 1897, and pledged itself to raise $100,000 in two years for church-extension. The Nyasan field again illustrates the blessedness of union, since the chief of the Free Church missions is himself a United Presbyterian. The day when Nyanja can be made the English speech of all Nyasan natives is so close at hand that Laws has approached all the other missions with the suggestion of an interdenominational board of translation*. If the mission of the Established Church be open to criticism, it would lodge upon the elaborateness of worship. Is it desirable that converts from pagan barbarism should practice the full and stately ceremonial observed by the Christian heirs of European civilization?

The United Presbyterians like the Free Presbyterians were born to a heritage of missions. Early in the century the Scottish Missionary Society had opened operations among the Jamaican Negroes. Many of the missionaries were ministers either of the Relief Church or of the Secession Church, and formed the Jamaica presbytery in 1836. Eleven years later the United Presbyterians accepted the mission in Jamaica. From year to year this has steadily grown, until in 1893 there were fifty congregations with numerous out-stations, ten thousand communicants, as many attendants in the Sabbath-schools and seventy-five hundred day-scholars. The congregations form four presbyteries, which together constitute Jamaica synod. A thoroughly equipped theological school for training a Negro ministry has been established. Since 1846 these blacks have sent mission-

*See *The Missionary Review*, vol. xi, no. 6 (June, 1898), p. 460, as to the recent intrusion of undenominational missions.

aries to Africa. The Negroes of Trinidad have also had Scotch Presbyterian missionaries for sixty years*.

The Calabar mission is a little sister in the household of faith, and may be taken as an example of a typical field in African tropics. It lies at the corner of Guinea's gulf, between the Niger delta, seventy miles west, and Kamerun mountain, thirty-five miles east. The Calabarese, now numbering about ninety thousand, stand ethnically, geographically and linguistically between the Bantu and the Sudanese Negro. Their speech is the Efik dialect of Ibo, a language of fine capacity. The people had in 1845 advanced in civilization, traded largely with Britain and other districts and spoke English fairly, some of the chiefs also reading and writing it. They were anxious to have their children educated, not unwilling to hear Christianity. British influence then extended only a cannon-shot ashore, but to-day Calabar is a British possession.

From the beginning (1823-34) of Scotch missions among the Jamaican Negroes, the most notable trait of the converts was a desire to send Christianity to Africa. From the moment of emancipation, the friends of Africa cherished the belief that Jamaica would supply African missionaries. In 1841, when the Jamaica presbytery has for two years clasped the project of an African mission to its heart, Buxton's book on the slave-trade initiates action. Then Jamaica educates Scotch sentiment, receives inviting assurances (1843) of property, protection and welcome from Calabar for any missionary, and resolves to undertake the mission independently. Waddell, the Carey of the movement and a missionary of the Edinburgh Society, returns to Scotland to found a new organization, and resigns from the old one. The

*The Canadian Presbyterians in Trinidad also work among its Negroes. See Dickie, *Story of Old Calabar;* and Robson, *Story of Our Jamaica Mission.*

brave, however, embolden others, heroism prevails, and the Secession Church adopts Jamaica's child (1845). The Students' Missionary Society accepts this as its first mission, and initiates a student-volunteer movement. Each theologue addresses six public meetings, and all contribute $500. Scotchmen and Jamaicans, blacks and whites, men and women, husbands and wives, clerics and laymen, the carpenter, the printer and the general utility-man, the educator and the preacher all find representation in the seven missionaries. The devoted band reaches Calabar (April 10, 1846), Eyo, Eyamba and other chiefs welcome it sincerely, and day dawns for darkness.

The natives had a dim idea of a Supreme Being, but believed strongly in spirits and sacrificed to them, sacrifices being offered also to the shades of ancestors. Family life was patriarchal, slavery mitigated by custom, but human sacrifice of the propitiatory and vicarious class prevailed. Society comprised slaves and slaveholders, and two kinds of law existed. One was *Egbo* or secret-society law; the other, family law. *Egbo* ruled the country, but for private advantage. The weak, the poor, the enslaved had no helper. The people were keen traders, their markets beehives, and fair farmers, though a few smiths and weavers were their sole artizans. The towns were miniature republics, rudely federated by *Egbo* and inhabited by courteous, hospitable folk. The chief must enter the shadow-world with a retinue of slain slaves, else he would there be nobody. The mother of twins was exiled, the children murdered. Trial by ordeal occurred frequently.

A successful beginning was made. Schools were opened, preaching accomplished through interpreters, and a Bible-lesson in Efik printed. Converts were being

won, though for long none appeared. First must come the creation of social conditions in which Christians could live. Atom by atom, blow on blow, consecrated ingenuity and hopeful persistence sapped pagan practices. Sabbath-observance was insisted on. Soon abstinence from Sunday-labor became a silent confession of Christianity, and led many to identify themselves with the mission. The early fifties were formative, critical years, and the work was fortunate in its workers. Waddell, Goldie and Anderson made Calabarese history by driving out rank superstitions and horrible customs. Human sacrifice was abolished as early as 1850. The degradation of woman had been previously confronted by an object-lesson in the marriage of two Negro missionaries (1848); now two natives entered into Christian wedlock, the first regular marriage of the Calabarese. The slaughter of twins and the banning of the mother were presently attacked, and though the mission was boycotted by *tabu*, native opinion indorsed the fresh effort in behalf of the sacredness of life and disregarded *Egbo*. Preaching had prepared the people for humanitarianism, and humaneness prepared them further for the gospel of woman, the slave and the child. Ultimately the punishment of a substitute instead of an actual criminal was annulled, and trial by ordeal was shattered. In 1853, after seven long years of sowing and sifting, the nucleus of a church was formed in two communicants. But the tyranny of custom was the cement of society still, and some persecution occurred in 1854. The church, however, grew in numbers and strength. It constrained Christian slave-owners to regard serfs, not as chattels, but as servants; to pay and aid them; and, as early as practicable, to abolish slavery and free the bondman. In 1856 the mission triumphed

over the custom of trials by ordeal, and opened new fields.

Workers came and workers went. Among new-comers Baillie's buoyancy, medical lore and tireless zeal made him a pioneer. Among the departing, broken health compelled Waddell, the father, philanthropist and statesman, to retire (1858). He had made the Calabar of the past into that of the future, and at his departure a native church of twenty-one members gave $350 to the home-church.

This epochal year closed one era and opened another. When Eyo, Calabar's Constantine, died, the gospel's triumph received amazing demonstration. Not one drop of blood was shed, and his sons took the oath on the Scriptures. The jungle of paganism had been largely cleared and foundations laid; now, courses were to be reared. Conquests of the grosser superstitions must be clinched by the blessed drudgery of teaching, preaching and industrial training. The building of a church at native expense and a new chief's abolition of Sunday marketing assisted the missionaries. Christian women won the right to wear decent dress. In 1868 the widows of chiefs broke the custom that they must mourn until funeral rites, often delayed one, three or even seven years, were consummated. The years 1862 and 1868 gave the Calabarese the Efik New and Old Testaments. But dark clouds obscured the sunny skies. The mission walked long in the valley of death-shades, new crises confronted it and the work was too heavy for the toilers, yet no reinforcements came. Mrs Baillie's dying words: "Nothing would be more unjust than to attribute my death to the climate" and her husband's cry: "O Africa! Africa! I have wished to spend and be spent for

thee" breathed the spirit of Christ; but volunteers were wanting.

In 1870 native agency had so grown that it did "fully half the work, at the cost of little more than one European". This fact, the deadliness of the climate and the repeated deaths of Europeans led to experiment. Eighty Negroes of our southern states were educated in American colleges, but proved unavailable as missionaries. Accordingly the principal agents are as far as feasible recruited from those who have for some time resided in Jamaica, whose climate and latitude are little less tropical than those of Calabar; and, instead of importing half-baked Negro ministers, ignorant of Calabarese languages, from America or the Antilles, an Efik ministry is reared from native converts. This system has proved capable of indefinite expansion, the native ministry is full of promise, and cheering signs of development present themselves.

Remarkable activity came in 1875. Exploration was vigorously pushed. The progress of Calabar aroused fresh courage. The ordination of the second native pastor seemed to start the church on a new stage, for it agreed (1879) to aim at supporting its Efik agents without foreign help. This assumption of responsibility promised well for the future. Moreover, Christian teaching had so shot Calabarese society through and through, that the leading citizens agreed with the British consul that *Egbo* assaults on women, human sacrifice, murder of twins and expulsion of the mothers, ordeal and widow-imprisonment should by the law of the land be recognized as crimes, and be punished accordingly. This treaty, the consul confessed, could not have been but for the coming of the mission only a generation before. What had not God wrought!

Forward became the cry, though 1881-82 proved years of trial. A visit from Scotch deputies brought the Efik church into brotherly fellowship with the Jamaican and Scotch church, and marked another epoch. Edgerly, the Livingstone of Calabar, explored districts unvisited by Europeans, and through Scotland's bairns obtained a much-needed mission-steamer. Calabar has neither beast of burden nor road, and waterways afford the chief channels for travel. The steamer enabled the mission to avail itself of river-roads and penetrate to regions beyond. A station was opened one hundred miles above the ocean, and for the first six months its pioneer was more a contractor than a missionary, a backwoodsman rather than a cleric. He built children's rooms, dispensary, houses and store; felled forest and thicket; healed the sick; made roads; preached; taught; and reduced the language to writing. Of course he broke down. The church demands too much from its agents, and gives too little. With each missionary it ought to send at least one artizan.

Another way than the Lord's is being prepared in the wilderness, for however far inland the Bible has penetrated the bottle has preceded it, and Biafra Presbytery "is convinced that to end it [the Americo-European liquor-traffic] would do more for Christ's cause than to double the missionaries"; yet notwithstanding this the outlook was never brighter. In no period have volunteers been so numerous as since 1890. A Lovedale has been founded, native industries are to be created and pushed, and Christianity is to be promoted by industrial culture as well as by educating the head and rectifying the heart and spirit. Captious criticism may carp at the church having so few adherents and still fewer communicants; but critics must remember that the deadliness of

the climate, the four centuries of demoralizing contact with Europeans and the native sinfulness made Guinea as difficult a mission-sphere as any. The abolition of hoary evils; the inbreathing of high hopes and ideals; the purification of society; the bringing men into fellowship with God in Christ; the Gulf-Stream currents of blessed influence and human betterment which flow from the life of the lowly Nazarene into the lives of Calabar's wretched children; the change from the miasma of heathenism to the health-giving atmosphere of Christianity — these are among the far-reaching and subtle consequences which have followed the transplantation of this Scotch flower of missions to the mangrove swamps. The canny, spiritual Scots! They built for the eternal. The story of Calabar is one of toil, suffering and heroism, but likewise a story of marvels and victories. The little sister has done what she could. She has broken the alabaster box of self-sacrifice, and its fragrance has perfumed the whole house. They who waged the happy strife and warred with evil to the hilt have seen of the travail of their souls and are glad*.

The Kafrarian mission has been described in that of the Established and Free Churches. It works among the Fingu, Gaika and Galeka. Tiyo Soga, its first native minister, exerted great influence over the chiefs; and his son nobly bears the father's name and fame.

The Presbyterian church of England has for years conducted a medical mission at Rabat, Marocco. This work is among the Jews, and is aided by the Scotch United Presbyterians. The Established Church also promotes Jewish missions, and Kopts and Muslims attend these mission-schools. Alexandria, now as anciently, constitutes the base for advance upon African Jews.

* Messrs Funk and Wagnalls kindly grant the free use of this sketch of Old Calabar. *The Missionary Review* published it as *A Typical African Mission.*

The Established Church has a Ladies' Association for zenana-work which sent a female missionary to Africa in 1889. She has charge of the elementary education and industrial training of the girls at Blantyre. The Ladies' Association for the Christian education of Jewesses has two schools at Alexandria, one for the poor alone. Their missionaries are called upon to teach English, Italian and needle-work and to read German with German Jewesses. Scripture-lessons are given in Arabic and other tongues. With these associations is affiliated a union composed of girls and young women. The Free Presbyterian Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, otherwise the Ladies' Society for Female Education in India and Africa, makes its own appointments and sustains a school for girls at Lovedale, many sewing-schools in Transkei and homes for Zulu girls in Natal. The Lovedale female school numbers over one hundred pupils, and carries on educational and industrial departments. In 1888 it enjoyed the novelty of a class in music. From Transkei a female missionary reported that she never gave the garments sewn by her girls to the pupils, saying: "I do not wish to spoil these people or their children. Many of them are better off than most of the people that keep up our missions. I don't believe in letting the ladies' money pay for work that should be paid for by government". In Natal some of the mission-girls are refugees from heathen homes, and the native women at Gordon Mission progress more rapidly than the men. Another woman's society of the Free Church is a Continental Association that contributes five hundred dollars yearly to the general society. The United Presbyterian Zenana-Mission has agents at Old Calabar. The teaching at the stations managed by these women is most elementary, but one of the female missionaries has

charge of a dispensary at Duke Town. The United Presbyterian Ladies' Kafrarian Society has three missionaries, one of them unsalaried. Their most important undertaking is a girls' boarding-school. The English Presbyterian women have, at their own charges, had two ladies in the Marocco mission.

The Egyptian mission of American United Presbyterians originated in 1854. The hour was propitious. Said, the viceroy, was favorably disposed toward European civilization, and free from the jealousy and hatred so common among Muhammadan officials. Down to 1860, however, achievement was meager. All the difficulties of beginning were experienced. The Arabic language proved difficult of mastery. Few have become fluent in the use of it. In not a few instances linguistic inaccuracies grate harshly on the native ear, and have deterred Muhammadans from listening willingly. They wittily remark that the user of bad grammar can not have a good religion. Yet a greater obstacle sprang from the formalism of the native religions. The Koptic church was a moral mummy. Though retaining the forms of Christian faith, it had lost spiritual life. Nor was Islam much superior in genuineness or in practical power to promote upright living. A still more formidable obstacle was afforded by the character of the majority of the European residents. The Muslim replied with derision: "If these be Christians, I want nothing of Christianity; if not, why don't you convert *them* first?" Finally, the business methods and the conditions of governmental service, requiring Sunday-labor, and the deception and lying that dominate every relation of Egyptian life rendered it difficult for converts to find employment. Operations were for the most part confined to Alexandria and Cairo, in each of which were

a school for boys and another for girls. Few attended the preaching. Several trips had been undertaken for the sale of religious literature and for itinerant evangelization. Unsuccessful attempts for missions at other points had been tried. Muslim hatred broke out against a native agent of the mission, but, as Egypt enjoys more religious liberty than Turkey, the Muhammadans were imprisoned. The Koptic hierarchy began to malign and traduce the missionaries, and to decry their labors. Excommunication was threatened against Kopts inclined to read Protestant books or to meet with members of the Presbyterian church. All who had professed Protestant principles were made anathema.

About 1861 the mission of the Scotch United Presbyterians at Alexandria and the Pringle school for girls, supported by the Paisley Ladies' Society, were transferred with their staff to the Americans. The church at home concentrated its forces upon Egypt and India. Reinforcements poured in. The tide turned. Advance was sure and swift. The presbytery of Egypt was organized. The year 1863 saw the formation of the first native Protestant church. From this time the work prospered more than ever. The schools grew in numbers and efficiency. Truth put forth her mighty power. Persons from every quarter of Egypt visited the mission. Additions by confession occurred at every communion. This is the best evidence for the spiritual power and substantialness of the mission, for an Egyptian's public profession of faith in a despised church affords proof of sincerity. A commencement was made in training Egyptian youths as missionaries. Year by year, despite political and religious disturbances, the Americans advanced up the Nile until they reached Assuan at the first cataract, only two hundred and fifty miles from the southern boundary and

the Nubian desert. In the most important items of statistics the results doubled each five years. In some cases they trebled. The number of churches in 1898 was forty-three, with five thousand, seven hundred and twenty-five communicants, seven thousand, two hundred and five pupils in the Sabbath-schools and annual contributions averaging ten dollars a member. The native workers comprise forty-five ordained preachers and three hundred and sixty-two assistants. The traveler along the Nile can scarcely enter a village without finding an Arabic school, whose teacher is proud to say that he received his education from American missionaries. To-day two hundred stations, including outposts, are occupied. At many of them meetings for prayer, reading, singing and Scripture-study are held every night. The adherents reached in these spheres of influence number seventeen thousand, one hundred and seventy-five.

The secret of such success is an open secret. It comprises evangelization, education, native agency and woman's work. The means and methods are those in general use: the Bible, the church, the school, the book, the zenana.

From the start two methods have been especially employed. These consisted of preaching and teaching. The first effort has ever been to make known the gospel. Men have been reached in mission-stations, bazars, itinerancies from hamlet to hamlet, zenanas and every place and way in which by any proper means missionaries could perform the work. Having great faith in the influence exercised even by the mere reading of the Scriptures, the mission has engaged largely in the distribution of religious literature — argumentative, educational and practical. It has opened ten or twelve book-stores, and employs an army of colporters. For more

than thirty years a mission-boat has carried missionaries up and down the Nile, as they colportered and preached. It has served at one and the same time as transport, home and house-of-worship. Over thirty-five thousand volumes are distributed each year.

Next and almost coexistent has been education. Schools for boys and girls, men and women have been opened wherever the opportunity offered or the mission had the means. These schools have gradually risen from the primary grade to the collegiate and theological institute, whence in increasing numbers young men are already coming to form a well-trained and able native ministry. It has been the policy to leave primary education to the natives themselves. One hundred and sixty-eight schools, with eleven thousand, five hundred and fifty-two pupils, have been established, but Egyptians support these almost entirely, and superintend and teach. In all Egypt they are the only schools accessible for the peasantry. The missionaries as educators restrict themselves to training teachers and to giving instruction in the higher branches. Consequently most of the parochial school-masters were taught in the Assiût training-school, which has a staff of American and Egyptian professors. There are also academies and seminaries where instruction and training are given that qualify pupils to prepare themselves for teaching or for the government service. In every mission-school an entire hour is devoted daily to religious education, in addition to beginning the day's work with worship. Nearly a thousand Muhammadan boys and girls are thus receiving Christian education. The theological classes are taught at Cairo, and gain constantly in ability, character, numbers and piety. During 1894 about ten thousand pupils

enjoyed instruction through the agency of the Presbyterian missionaries.

The women of Egypt are ignorant, oppressed and superstitious to a degree not comprehensible in civilized countries. Not more than one in seven hundred reads understandingly, while the proportion of those who can write is far less. Their opportunities for acquiring knowledge at public meetings are much fewer than those of men. On Sundays they must stay at home and prepare the entertainment for their husbands' visitors; at night it is unseemly for them to go out, even to religious meetings, unless guarded by some man. To distribute books among them is useless. Yet they need instruction and elevation not for themselves only but still more on account of the men. These can never be fully converted and educated unless the women are enlightened and evangelized. Such facts render zenana-work imperative, and afford reasons for a staff of unmarried female missionaries in addition to the wives of ministers and of other men on the force. They are the gift of American womanhood to Egyptian women. Bible in hand, they visit the women personally in their houses, always reading to them, often accompanying the reading with prayer and sometimes teaching them. For the girls, also, boarding-schools as well as others are opened, where many are in training to create and sustain Christian homes in their after lives. Among these girls are many Jewesses. The pupils are thought worthy of praise for their pronunciation of Arabic, and Muhammadans as well as Kopts grace the prize-giving with their presence. The girls are taught every branch of home-making, and it is also the purpose to train teachers and zenana-visitors. Egyptian women's mission-societies

have taught the native Christians to give for religious purposes.

It is when Egyptians themselves have taken part in evangelization that it has attained the best results. To enlist the natives in this work, whether in the zenana or among men and women indiscriminately, has been the constant endeavor. This has been accomplished by interesting them in the nightly meetings for prayer and Bible-study, at which the natives are very often the leaders, and through adopting a system of local preachers somewhat similar to that of Methodism. An earnest Christian who can read intelligently can in many places do good work among his own people, though he may never have been inside of a school. General Haig gives an interesting description of a meeting for the discussion of a secular subject. He writes: "I was present at a meeting (held every week) in one of the large class-rooms of the magnificent mission-building at Cairo. A Protestant Kopt, a man of great ability, sat in the chair. After he had given an address on temperance, a favorite subject with Muhammadans, papers were read by a Kopt and a Muhammadan on the question: Have animals minds? These were followed by a lively discussion and a good deal of cheering. The language used was Arabic. The meeting, which was hearty throughout, lasted two hours. Of the two hundred and fifty present, nearly all young men, two thirds were Muhammadans and the remainder, mostly, converts. That such a meeting should be held is a most remarkable proof of the diminution of prejudice. Not many years ago every Muhammadan would have scorned to sit in the same room with a native convert, still more to take part. In several instances native Christian congregations in towns where the market had always been held on Sunday have

had the day changed by memorializing the local governor".

Theological students are qualified for permanent pastorates by courses of study similar to those in American theological seminaries and British denominational colleges and by acting as local preachers and teachers during their vacations. Curiosity and other motives generally secure large audiences for them as well as for the missionaries, and good is always accomplished. No other means is more successful in arousing the masses from their religious formalism and indifference. Evangelization buttressed by education has been the chief source of success. A secondary cause is the liberal use of native talent in every department. The foreign force, numbering forty-eight, forms only a ninth of the entire staff. When Egypt has been completely conquered for Christ, the victory will have been achieved largely by itinerant evangelists, foreign and native. Both are needed for securing the best results.

From time immemorial Egypt has been far-and-away a key to Africa, the stepping-stone between the orient and the occident. It is African, Asiatic and European in its characteristics and connections; Negro, Egyptian, Arab, Frank and Turk in its ethnic affiliations; Greek, Koptic, Muhammadan, Roman and Protestant in its religious relations. It is still a battle-field of east and west, still a gate-way for the entrance of Christian civilization into Ethiopia, still a source whence spiritual and intellectual influences must issue toward Nubia, Abyssinia, Sûdan and Equatoria. It is a meeting-place of Christianity, Islam and Judaism. It is the only one among the self-created African powers that, in virtue of its having always possessed a civilization, can rank with such states as China or India, Japan or Persia. It

stands midway between Islam in Asia and Islam in Africa, between Turkey and Sûdan. When its millions of Muhammadans have been brought from Allah to God in Christ, the wedge of cleavage will have been driven into Islam's realm of mighty span that sweeps from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Then ex-Muhammadan missionaries from Egypt may exalt the cross above the crescent among their brethren in Sahara and Sûdan. This it is for which America's United Presbyterians are really laying the foundations. They are inaugurating a spiritual revolution of tremendous scope and consequence. In this connection Grant-Bey and Lansing, Hogg and Watson will not soon be forgotten. The Kopts have always been mainly the people among whom they could and must work. Providence decreed that proselytes should be gained from Egyptian Christianity instead of Christians being made from Islamites, and that a new, pure church should be created bodily. Among the results beyond statistics is the awakening of the entire Koptic church to its need of radical reformation and to a desire to effect it by means of men educated in Presbyterian mission-schools*. Who knows but what she may again become a missionary to Abyssinia as fifteen hundred years ago? Moreover, a purer Christianity has been placed before the Muhammadans than they ever saw before. Under the tendencies of the great events of later

*Cf. *The Awakening of the Koptic Church*, an article by "A Koptic Layman," in *The Contemporary Review* for May, 1897. Anglican sacerdotalists assert that "the teaching of the mission is such as to lead those imbued with it to disparage their ancient church and its traditions. Whatever its effect on individuals, it must tend to weaken rather than reform or renew the religious organization and to impair its harmonious working. There are, however, indications that some of the better educated Kopts are earnestly studying the best means for reforming their church without breaking from their patriarch and episcopate. Some Kopts recently [*c.* 1882] formed a society for arousing public opinion in favor of reform. To these Kopts churchmen should hold out the hand of fellowship, and offer such aid as they can". The Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt accordingly refuses fellowship to the Presbyterian churchmen who inspired the Koptic reformers, and invades the Americans' field. The Association, if mischief result, renders itself responsible for the scandal and sin of rending the church.

years they are becoming more and more open to Christian influences. These have opened the eyes of more than it would be prudent or safe to mention. The necessity for thorough occupancy of Egypt becomes every year more and more urgent. God grant that Britain's meteor-flag shelter Egypt in its crimson folds until the cross of St George is supplanted by the cross of Christ.

Major-General Haig wrote from Egypt to *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* of April, 1887, thus: "The great mission that has long been doing effective work on a scale beginning to tell most powerfully upon the population is the American one. Its converts are mostly from the Kopts, but Muhammadans are not neglected. If these converts are few, remember the enormous difficulties in the way of open profession of Christianity. But the truth has been widely spread at Cairo and other centers, and prejudice has broken down to a remarkable degree. The native church is beginning to be recognized as a distinct body of social importance".

In Egypt, then, Presbyterianism has an African enterprise worthy of standing beside the achievement of the American Board and Roberts College for Turkey. American Congregationalists laid the foundations of Bulgaria. American Presbyterians are doing more than all other agencies for the renascence of Egyptian nationality and the new birth of Koptic and Ethiop Christianity.

CHAPTER 12

1521 = 1898

ROME IN AFRICA.

Quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?

Vergil

The Jesuits have no happy hand.

Doellinger

INTRODUCTION: YOUTH OF ROMAN MISSIONS. (I) THE VATICAN AND MISSIONS. THE ROMAN THEORY OF CHURCH AND STATE. PROPAGANDA. ITS ORGANIZATION. MISSION-FINANCES. OTHER ORGANIZATIONS. ORGANIZING A MISSION. CRUSADING ORIGIN OF PAPAL MISSIONS. (II) THE SOCIETAS JESU AND AFRICA. ONE ROMAN TYPE. THE MAN AND THE ORDER. THEIR VIEWS. XAVIER IN AFRICA. THE JESUIT IN WEST AFRICA. LIVINGSTONE'S TESTIMONY. EBB AND FLOW. THE APOLOGY FOR KONGO. ABYSSINIA THE JESUIT CRIME. GAINS AND LOSSES. EXPULSION. OLD ZAMBEZIA. LIVINGSTONE AGAIN. MOZAMBIQUE AND MADAGASCAR. MODERN ZAMBEZIA. METHODS OLD AND NEW. WAYS OF TRAVEL. HARDSHIPS AND HUMORS. THICKENING TROUBLES. PAPAL AGGRESSION AGAINST PROTESTANT MISSIONS. JESUIT VENOM. AMONG THE TABILI. THE JESUIT GOAL. (III) THE CAPUCHINS AND OTHER ORDERS. A ROMAN PARTITION. KONGO AGAIN: THE CAPUCHINS. ROME'S REPEATED FAILURES. AN EXCEPTION? DAY-DAWN. (IV) FROM CARTHAGE TO UGANDA: ROME'S MORE MODERN MISSIONS. MISSIONS AMONG MUSLIMS. SHREWDNESS OF LAVIGERIE. A NEW ORDER. FIRST STEPS. CATHOLIC WOMANHOOD AT WORK. PARTITION OF AFRICA AMONG ROMAN MISSIONS IN 1880. FROM CARTHAGE TO UGANDA. RIVALS IN POLITICS AND RELIGION. ROME'S RESPONSIBILITY. "LIES": FRANCO-ROMAN POLITENESS. RESULTS. A BEAUTIFUL RITE. RETREAT FROM DANGER. TRIALS. FRANCE VS. BRITAIN. JUDGMENT. CHRISTIAN COMITY. ROME'S MISSIONARY METHOD IN THE FIELD. MEDIEVALISM. MUSIC IN MISSIONS. MODERN CRUSADERS. THEIR SPHERE. AFTER LAVIGERIE. (V) THE OUTCOME AND THE OUTLOOK. NUMERICAL SUCCESS. QUALIFYING FACTORS. ACHILLES' HEEL. DOING EVIL THAT GOOD MAY COME. A PROSELYTE'S PREDICTION.

Medieval Christianity consisted of Teutonic as well as Latin elements, and possessed no less Protestant than Roman tendencies. The Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian and Wesleyan have in faith and practice inherited from the medieval church. The Roman church proper thus originated in its present form from the politico-religious revolutions of the sixteenth century. The Company of Jesus was its spiritual father, the Council of Trent its nursing mother. Modern Rome is younger than the Anglican, Congregational, Lutheran and Presbyterian bodies. The Anglican polity developed in 1534. Congregationalism began its evolution as early as 1526 if not earlier. Lutheran church-government organized between 1520 and 1525. The Presbyterian system shaped itself during the decade after 1526. Baptist, Huguenot and "Moravian" methods had appeared before Luther. But Rome did not reorganize till between 1547 and 1563. In Africa she received the results of medieval Christianity, whose glory and shame belong equally to Protestantism, but she herself did not arrive before the entrance of the Jesuit. He, despite the activity of the Capuchin, Dominican, Franciscan, Lazarist and other orders, is the dominant figure in her missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He compels us to center our vision on him until the coming of Lavigerie. The better, however, to appraise the method and result of Jesuit and other Roman missioners we must touch on the art and science of papal missions. If we would understand the work of the Roman church, we must grasp her thought of the state and its relations to Christianity; learn her missionary organization and its field; and know the procedure of her men and orders. Then we can less mistakenly estimate her attitude toward other communions and the meaning of her missions.

I

The Vatican and Missions

For Rome the world consists of Catholic and of missionary lands. Catholic lands comprise countries whose governments, in keeping with her theory that the state is subordinate to the church and merely its secular arm, are at the bidding of the holy office or inquisition and compel all baptized persons to obey her head. Missionary lands include the territories of the Greek and Protestant communions, of the Muhammadan and the pagan. Since every Christian country has decreed religious liberty and decided that its political powers and civil government shall not be subject to the papal court, the world as to its relations with Rome is a missionary land. Within countries of the church no mission-organization could have jurisdiction, but in mission-lands Propaganda controls Rome's every ecclesiastical personage and process*. Heathen, Muhammadan and Protestant countries fall within its sphere. Even oriental Christians (Abyssinian, Greek, Kopt and others) are subject to missionary activity, though this *acts* only so far as they are among Muslims or pagans. The populations of papal mission-lands are either unbelievers — all who have never accepted Christianity; or schismatics — Christians heterodox only in disavowing the authority of the pope; or heretics — Christians who choose their own form of faith and forswear the papacy. Muhammadans and pagans are unbelievers; the Greek and oriental churches, schismatics; Protestants, heretics. As unbelievers have never come under church jurisdiction, the only lawful means for their conversion is persuasion. Rome has

*The Catholic says Propaganda; American, if not European, Protestants, the Propaganda.

never claimed the right to force infidels to receive baptism. Aquinas distinctly disavowed it. Yet Latin Christianity is so predominantly an institution that it can not be so disinclined to ruder forms of conquest as Teutonic Christianity, which throws the stress on personal and spiritual factors. Rome broke the force of her protest against compelling the unbaptized to enter by maintaining a "right" of obliging the baptized to remain. Schismatics, being simply seceders, are considered subjects and may be persuaded or coerced into returning. Heretics, in virtue of baptism, are members of the church and *must* be restored, preferably by persuasion, permissibly by coercion. Protestants are destitute of all means of grace except baptism and marriage, and must be persuaded from error or compelled to accept truth or coerced into withdrawal. It is a duty to save them from themselves and to save others from being lost through and with them. Since Rome claims to be the one, true and universal church, Protestants have no privileges and no standing. She pushes missions among them almost as if they were heathen. If they are tolerated, it is from inability to oust them. Her entrance into Protestant mission-fields is an inevitable, logical outcome from her principle and practice of including Protestant heretics with heathen lands. So long as this holds, Protestant missions have no rights. There have been bitter and frequent complaints of bickering between her men and those of Protestantism, but have the complainants conned Rome's character, career and polity? Are they aware that the policy is the inherent necessity of an absolute spiritual monarchy? The annals of papal missions tell *one* story: determined opposition always, everywhere and by all to the work of other churches. Alzog, a papal church-historian of whom Schaff

wrote: "He was no narrow partisan but a broad-minded student of history", stated that Protestant and Roman missions are "unhappily mutually opposed, the one not infrequently undoing the work of the other". His allegation that Protestant missionaries oppose papal missioners contains a Catholic confession that Rome assails Protestantism*.

Yet Rome does not designate Protestants as unbelievers, the technical term for all neither baptized nor catechumens. Its application to heretics is accidental, seldom official. Unbelieving lands include Muhammadan regions whose anciently Christian cities give titular dignity to bishops without actual sees. As they are largely employed in Protestant countries, their former title, bishop in infidel lands, was naturally misunderstood as referring not to the location of their nominal dioceses but to their place of residence. Leo XIII courteously replaced this designation by that of titular bishop.

Within mission-lands every activity, whether the conversion of unbelievers or proselytism from Christians or the routine of administration, is controlled by Propaganda. Before its foundation missions were pursued disconnectedly. Each order sent its missioners who rendered account only to their provincials and generals. Doubtless the latter communicated frequently with the Vatican, and obtained such suggestions, exemptions,

*Schaff: "The English translation skilfully removes the manly candor of Alzog, and turns him into the conventional apologist who sees no good in Protestantism and no bad in Romanism". Byrnes and Pabish make Alzog say: "The 'Moravian' Brethren and the Methodists have both labored with disinterested zeal to revive and stimulate religious life . . . Of the earlier evangelical missionaries the 'Moravians' were the most earnest and successful . . . Destitute of the spirit of self-sacrifice which characterizes the true priest, they [Protestant missionaries] have nothing that at all resembles the elaborate and splendid organization of Catholic missions. But with all its defects and shortcomings the missionary zeal displayed in the present and preceding centuries by Protestants is one of its most attractive and redeeming features". These passages contain the nearest approach to intelligence and justice on the part of Roman writers in dealing with Protestant missions.

consecrations, pecuniary subventions and other aids as it might be inclined to grant and they to receive. Since 1622, however, the control of all missions has rested with Propaganda. This body, the one agency for conversion and proselytism, is subject only to the pope, the universal bishop, but he may at any point intervene with ordinary or appellate authority. Though the latter is chiefly in use, the former may at any time be exercised. As vicegerent of the pope Propaganda exercises papal authority over the church in mission-lands until these become Catholic countries. It ought not, Pius VI decreed in 1791, to coerce into obedience mission-peoples who have always stood outside the pale of Christianity, *i. e.*, Jews, Muhammadans and pagans. It must coerce all who have once undergone baptism. So soon as compulsion is feasible, through the state having become the arm of the church, the country itself ceases to be a mission-land, though its unconverted populations remain objects of missionary effort. So long as they refrain from offense against the church, they continue subject only to Propaganda. If they offend, they fall under the care of the inquisition.

Rome's missionary organization is a monument to her genius for government, organization and outward, seeming unity. (The reality, however, is too suggestive of Ferris Wheels). Gregory XV, the first Jesuit pope, was interested in missions, and founded the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, commonly called Propaganda. It is composed of cardinals, not all resident at Rome, and of a secretary and notary on whom, mainly, devolves the practical business. Its chief, the cardinal prefect, is a papal secretary of state, discharging functions analogous to those of a British secretary for the colonies. The Roman populace style him the red pope,

meaning that he is a virtual pope in infidel lands. There are five departments, each with its head and staff, and weekly cabinet-meetings are held. The decrees of Propaganda have the force of inviolable apostolic constitutions. Its primary purpose is to secure hard-working, pious missioners. For this object all pontifical colleges were by Urban VIII made subject to Propaganda, and it has established and sustains mission-colleges. First among these ranks the Propaganda or Urban College, with special foundations for Abyssinian and Koptic students as well as many other nationalities. Each scholar over fourteen takes an oath to serve missions for life in the ecclesiastical province or vicariat assigned him. To Propaganda he must send annual accounts. He is educated gratuitously, and studies Greek, Italian, Latin and some oriental language, as Arabic. The college also has schools of canon law, philosophy and theology. Second come dependent colleges and national colleges. The third class consists of local mission-colleges and of seminaries for the training of a native clergy.

Propaganda is reported to receive over $1,250,000 annually, to which must be added interest on its vast endowments. The Lyons-Paris Society for the Propagation of the Faith and many other organizations bestow special grants. The laity have the same privileges as to missions as with every other ecclesiastical interest. They give, but remain passive as to the disposal of their gifts. Has this circumstance anything to do with the fact, stated by Lavigerie, that Protestant contributions for foreign missions alone are twenty times greater than those of Rome? Voluntary societies are welcome as a means of raising money, the Lyons-Paris organization procuring far more than any other Roman association; but for lay bodies to designate the objects to which their

gifts shall be applied and to correspond with converted pagans would be an intervention out of keeping with the drift and tenor of the papal system. For the maintenance of missions beyond Christendom the popes make ample contributions. Propaganda assigns appropriations, the missioners sometimes support themselves from private resources, and even converts do something. The orders have a natural interest in sustaining the efficiency of their representatives. As a rule they train candidates for missions, many setting special houses apart for the work. The *Societas Jesu* is fancied to be inordinately wealthy.

To determine how far and in what way missions have actually been subordinated to Propaganda would require inner knowledge of the workings of Rome. Every missioner, whether of an order or from the secular priesthood, stands subject to the supreme and universal episcopate of the pope as exercised through this star-chamber of ecclesiastical empire. Yet Propaganda, comparatively, is so new; the bonds of connection within each monastic order so strict; the authority of its superior so unbounded; its creed, policy and spirit so specific; and each of the elder orders so sacred — that even Propaganda must adjust itself to at least a measure of independence of action by other missionary agents. The Jesuits, though professedly willing to accommodate themselves to popes and papal delegates, have been more disposed to govern papacy and church than to submit. They, slander says, take whatever fields they wish. Roman orders have certainly promoted their missions with a bitterness of controversy that never prevailed among the most widely sundered Protestant churches. This was especially the case with the Capuchin and the Dominican against the Jesuit; but since the renascence

of the latter (1814) the profane mob hears no more of such dissensions. Propaganda divides missions between parochial priests, religious orders and societies for missions. It charges the orders with supplying full quotas of priests for missions in many dioceses and vicariats of pagan lands. Nor does it stop with these assignments. It allots a particular mission to a specific province. This is somewhat as if a Protestant congregation should sustain, not a single missionary alone, but an entire station. Pupils for missions, compared with those for the priesthood, are few. The missioners themselves comprise but few seculars (ordinary parish priests subject only to the general authority of the church); but among the heathen, from the nature of the circumstances, the native clergy are for the most part secular priests.

Where the church has never been organized into a diocese or where former bishoprics have fallen among heretics or unbelievers, the pope in virtue of his ordinary jurisdiction throughout the church is the sole diocesan. The first step is the appointment of his and Propaganda's representative as apostolic prefect. Under Propaganda he has almost boundless authority. He is empowered to station priests at discretion within his prefecture, and almost unconditionally to grant dispensations from every ecclesiastical precept not included in the divine law. Propaganda tries to have native Christians establish pious foundations and endow the mission with life and permanence. If the mission flourish and a call arise for a superintendent with power to ordain, the prefect rises into an apostolic vicar. Almost all prefects and vicars are titular bishops. All are removable at pleasure. If the church win such a following as to warrant the procedure, the pope organizes a hierarchy of diocesan in distinction from missionary bishops, of metropolitan prov-

inces and of archbishops. Diocesans enjoy fixity of tenure, but, as belonging to a missionary jurisdiction, are ruled by Propaganda. Rome outside of Christendom, while giving play to the peculiarities of individual habit and devotion and to the specific activities of monastic orders and mission-societies, reserves dominant and undisputed control for the papal court. Through her prefects, vicars and sees Rome at every point clasps missions in the gloved but iron grip of the Vatican.

A powerful factor in the initiation of Roman missions was the resolve to make good the losses from the reformation. Like Canning three centuries later, imperial, conquering Rome turned to new worlds to redress the balance of the old. Portugal and Spain held the headship of the seas; were the sole peoples in touch with Islam and paganism; and, having remained the latest continuators of medieval missions, became the first modern cross-bearers. Through Dominic (1170-1221) Spain began to exercise strenuous and unwholesome influence on western Christianity. Through Loyola, three centuries later, this culminated in the counter-reformation and the Roman reaction. From Spain's crusade against Islam came Jesuit missions.

II

The Societas Jesu and Africa

Loyola (1491-1556) was of imaginative and passionate nature. Sensual and spiritual experiences made its peculiarities morbid though powerful. The man believed that he saw the sacramental bread and wine change into the body and blood of Jesus and that he viewed the Three-in-One. In 1523 he attempted to found a mission in Jerusalem for Muslims. In 1534 he founded an asso-

ciation that vowed itself to foreign missions or to unconditional service for the pope. The union in the Spaniard between religion and chivalry rendered it inevitable that the new order should be a body of fighting men, knights-errant for the spouse of Christ. It was Loyola's idea that missions offer the true field of action, and he anew originated the idea of colleges for training missioners from missionary lands. "This", said Paul III, when, nine years later, the scheme was submitted to him, "is the finger of God". The society is not merely a monastic body with stringent rules for dress and ritual but a company of crusaders under a captain, an actual embodiment of the church militant on earth. All that the order does is achieved with a single eye to some practical end. Art and science, ethics and religion are but tools or weapons for rehabilitating Rome and establishing the reign of church over state. Only a short time elapsed before the new order rendered its unique and preëminent usefulness evident. To-day it numbers over six thousand members, of whom twenty-five hundred are missionaries. Its functions consist of preaching, instructing the young and receiving confession. Its age, energy, extent of operations and greatness of membership, personal piety, political astuteness, spiritual zeal and unflinching obedience rank it third among missionary societies.

The Jesuit on the whole is what Loyola meant him to be. External authority is substituted for conscience. Loyola looked less to goodness than to ability and firmness, stating that "those not fit for public business were not adapted for filling offices in the company". Yet these are valuable only through obedience. Loyola's principles of obedience, however, were such that Philip II of Spain maintained lifelong reserve against the soci-

ety, and the Portuguese and Spanish inquisitions formally condemned the Loyolan principles. The association is everything, the individual nothing, and this despotism is checked only by oligarchy. A pope is the suzerain of the order, its general his feudatory, but the Roman populace knows the former as the white, the latter as the black, pope. The average Jesuit is a picked man, and therefore choicer than other average men; yet, after all, in spite of, or, rather, on account of thirty (sometimes even forty) years' training, he is but a respectable mediocrity. The narrow range of study, the mutual espionage and the absence of encouragement and recompense for the best result in mental disembowelment and spiritual *hara-kiri*. The society has never created nor (since Loyola and Xavier) possessed a single great man. Powerful intellects are so lacking that nothing could be further from the truth than the popular conception of the typical Jesuit as a being of supernatural faculty. Brébeuf, Britto, Claver and Xavier were exceptional, almost ideal missioners. Xavier did not work on Jesuit lines, and the company does not deserve an atom of credit for his results. To break new ground in missions careful selection was made of the men of greatest piety and zeal. Their successes threw unearned luster on the order. It is, nevertheless, in missions that its doings have been most remarkable. The individual Jesuit is a Christian gentleman of such culture and purity, that no body except the "Moravians" has been so free from discreditable members. He is cheerful, devoted, tireless, worthy of admiration and respect. In conduct and intelligence together no other organization has sustained so high an average. Yet it incurs hostility and suspicion from all Rome, is watched by every government, and meets with ultimate and universal failure.

Why?

Rome had said: I am the church. The *Societas Jesu* said: We are the church. Here alone, to begin with, was cause enough for indignation among non-Jesuit Catholics, while Protestants could point out that this was the logical conclusion of the Roman claim reduced to absurdity. In the next place, the Jesuit was lax or strict according to circumstance, a moral chameleon. His first object was to drive no person from the church. Since there are bad people, it is better they should be poor Catholics than wicked Protestants, a sentiment many non-Romanists will endorse in a sense the reverse of that intended by Jesuitry. If a person were so unlucky as to be a sinner, that was no reason for making him a heretic. Such casuistry, with the views of probabilism, mental reservation, sin and the justification of the means by the end, cut up ethics and society by the roots. Finally, about 1650 thoughtful Catholics asked seriously whether Jesuit missioners taught Christianity. A Jesuit council decided it inexpedient to impose any act of Christian devotion except baptism on their converts in South America without the greatest precautions. Clement XIV suppressed the society (1773) on the ground, among many, of conformity to heathen usages, and we must therefore suppose that their African converts from paganism were but the most nominal Christians. Individual Jesuits have often been heroes, martyrs, saints; but the system is rotten from corner-stone to turret.

In 1541 Xavier spent six months at Mozambique, and also touched at Melinda and Sokotra. His early familiarity with Protestantism made him saintly in aim, experience and life. At Melinda he disputed zealously with the Muslims. Unprepared for debate, he delivered

invectives against the Quran instead of expounding the gospel. At Sokotra his earnestness interested the natives, and he baptized some infants; but the ease with which, through an interpreter, he communicated a few ideas was not thought extraordinary at the time. Afterwards it was taken as evidence that an afflatus of supernatural power brought the gift of tongues in lower degree.

Jesuit missioners entered Kongo in 1547, only to find the natives in quite as much need of Christianity as sixty years before. Baesten, a Belgian Jesuit, confesses that "the first conversions [1491-1549] were too precipitate. Insufficient account was taken of the difficulties against the lasting and sincere practice of Christianity*". The dissoluteness of the court of the chief of San Salvador remained proof against their efforts, but temporarily they accomplished much for the education and religion of the masses. Livingstone in 1857 averred that "in Africa the Jesuits were wiser in their generation than Protestants. Theirs were large, influential communities, proceeding on the system of turning the abilities of every brother into the channel in which he was most likely to excel. One fond of natural history was allowed to follow his bent. Another fond of literature found leisure to pursue his studies. He who was great in barter was sent in search of gold-dust and ivory. While performing the religious acts of his mission to distant tribes, he found the means of aiding effectually the brethren whom he had left in the central settlement. . . . It is quite astonishing to observe the great numbers who can [1854] read and write. This is the fruit of the labors of Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries. Ever since the expulsion of the teachers by Pombal

*_Précis Historiques_, 1878, p. 372.

[1759] the natives have continued to teach each other. These devoted men are still held in high estimation. All speak well of them. I could not help wishing our fellow-Christians had felt it their duty to give the people the Bible, to be a light to their feet when the good men themselves were gone". Livingstone also ascertained that the Jesuit and other missioners brought the seed of the Mocha coffee-plant and all foreign fruit-trees and timber-trees. In 1840 it was claimed that there were seven hundred thousand Negro Christians, but Livingstone found the monasteries deserted, and at the present day all traces of Christianity have disappeared in the grossest paganism. Of the bishop of Sao Paulo Livingstone stated that "he was promoting the establishment of schools, which, though formed more on the monastic principle than Protestants might approve, will be a blessing. He was likewise successfully attempting to abolish the non-marriage custom. . . . One of the cathedrals, once a Jesuit college, is converted into a workshop. In passing the other, we with sorrow saw oxen feeding within its stately walls. . . . A gentleman of color, a canon, kindly paid me a visit. He was on a visitation in interior districts for the purpose of baptizing and marrying. There are only three or four *priests* in Loanda, all men of color, but educated for the office. About the time of my journey an offer was made to any young men of ability who might wish to devote themselves to the service of the church, to afford them education at the university of Coimbra, Portugal. I was [erroneously] informed that the prince of Kongo is professedly a Christian, and that there are twelve churches in that kingdom, the fruits of the mission in former times at San Salvador. These churches are kept in partial repair by the people, who also keep up the cere-

monies, pronouncing some gibberish over the dead in imitation of Latin prayers. There is not much knowledge of the Christian religion in Angola or Kongo, yet it is looked on with a degree of favor. The prevalence of fever is probably the reason why no priest occupies a post in the interior. They come on tours of visitation, and it is said no expense is incurred. In view of the desolate condition of this fine missionary field, the presence of Protestants would provoke the priests, if not to love, to good works".

Cardinal Baluffi has stated that the Jesuits were at the African slave-marts. Scandal charges the first Jesuits in Kongo, who worked for Portuguese sovereignty, with neglecting their flocks and with degenerating soon into little else than slave-agents for the king of Portugal. The superiors recalled them, and sent two missioners of purer zeal. These preached vigorously against polygamy and unchastity, of which the Angolan priests took little account, but were quickly obliged to shake off the dust of their feet against Kongo. In 1570 an invasion of savages destroyed San Salvador with its cathedral and churches, and drove the Christians to an island in the great river. But His Portuguese Majesty enabled the Negro brother in arms and faith to rebuild his city and the missioners to restore their churches. Kongo had been erected into a bishopric as early as 1521. Angola became an episcopal see in 1580. Finally Clement VIII in 1596 established the diocese of San Salvador, embracing Angola, Benguela and Kongo. From 1590 on the Jesuits influenced twenty thousand Christians. They prepared catechisms, dictionaries and grammars. They planted colleges at Sao Paulo (1578-1753) and San Salvador (1619). In 1600 they had three colleges and twelve stations throughout West Africa. In

1620 they occupied Benguela, and remained till 1753. We can imagine their amusement and incredulity if they had been told that the British Congregationalists who in 1620 landed in America would in 1879 through their descendants found a Protestant mission in Benguela itself. In 1660 the Jesuits were at Kasanji, six hundred miles inland and their easternmost point. The Angola and the Mozambique mission thus came within five hundred miles of each other's latitude. Between 1554 and 1626 Kongo had eight bishops, one of them a Negro educated at Rome. After alternations of persecution and repentance Christianity began to decay. About 1630 the Kongo mission broke up, and the bishopric was transferred to Loanda. Presently matters passed into other hands. The first period of Kongoan missions had closed with little more than the shadow of Christianity for all result of one hundred and fifty years of effort.

Marshall, a proselyte from the Anglican to the Roman communion and a professional apologist for papal missions, regrets that the Jesuits did not give the people the Bible, but claims that to translate the Scriptures was hardly feasible. The missioners, he pleads, were absorbed by arduous toil, and speedily worn out by the climate. Protestant missionaries, he argues, have not with all their leisure been very successful. His first assertion is specious, his second untrue. The Jesuits, despite the climate and their churchly tasks, found ample leisure to engage in commerce and in scientific pursuits. Had they wished to render the Bible into native languages, they would have done so. The work was as practicable as publishing a Bunda dictionary and grammar. Nor do Protestants enjoy the lazy leisure ascribed them by Marshall, for the existence of scores of mission-

ary versions when he wrote is proof sufficient of their energy and success.

Abyssinia became the second and most notorious field of the Jesuit in Africa. His work here is likewise the second mission of modern Rome in Ethiopia proper. Bermudez, who arrived about 1525, was the first of papal missioners in Abyssinia. Received like a native, he caused himself to be consecrated by the Ethiopian primate, and for a time became his successor. His title, however, to the patriarchate was so doubtful, that he is suspected of imposture. In 1541 the Portuguese, in payment for saving Abyssinia from Islam, demanded a third of the empire as their fief and the subjection of the nation to the Roman see. The emperor in a moment of terror promised to reconcile himself and his subjects to the Catholic faith. Loyola saw and presently seized the opportunity; hence the wars of the Alexandrine and Jesuit sectaries. Lee claims that the Abyssinian Jesuits were prodigies of infamy and cupidity, without other motive than to pilfer precious metals and other treasures. The missioners mingled in politics, and aimed to establish the supremacy of Rome. Bruce considered Lobo the greatest liar among them and Paez an impostor, but Beke defends them as maligned.

Loyola, on the ground that the patriarchate of Ethiopia would bring more crosses than honors, sanctioned the assumption of the office by Nuñez in 1553. The real reason was that a Latin patriarch might realize the wildest dreams of avarice and zeal from the submission of the Christians of Africa. But the Abyssinians adhered with unshakable loyalty to their idea of one nature alone in Christ, called those worshipers of four gods who believed in His two natures, and branded the Romans as

Arians and Nestorians. Between 1500 and 1525 the state had planned to avail itself of Europe's arts and sciences, and had instructed its ambassadors at Lisbon and Rome to solicit a colony of carpenters, masons, physicians, printers, smiths, surgeons and tilers to settle in Abyssinia; naturally, therefore, the skill of the Jesuits in the liberal and mechanic arts, their learning in theology and their courtliness inspired esteem. But the year 1559 brought persecution at the hands of the Abyssinian monarch, and in 1581 a Jesuit fell a martyr. Though an Abyssinian ruler became a papal proselyte in 1589, it had required forty years of dexterity and patience to obtain a more favorable hearing. Partial success was constantly checked by greater reverses. One of the first Jesuit missions was compelled to leave the country before securing the recognition of the pope's authority, but about 1607 a second gained some success. Another emperor was persuaded that Rome alone can ensure eternal bliss to her votaries. In 1624 the king of kings abjured the Ethiopic creed and ordered the universal adoption of Romanism. Rebellion broke out, the native primate anathematized the apostate and absolved his subjects from allegiance, and Zadenghel lost his crown and his life. Susneus (Segued) followed him, and met with more success. After amusing himself with debates between the Jesuit theologians and the ignorant native priests, Segued declared for Rome. At first, expecting that the clerics and laity would hasten to become Catholics, the emperor allowed liberty of choice. Mendez, the Latin patriarch, received the abjuration of the clergy, court and royal family. But in Jesuit eyes the spirit of persecution was the most meritorious of virtues. Mendez failed in charity, wisdom and Loyolan astuteness. He introduced the Portuguese inquisition and the Roman

liturgy, instituted new modes of baptism and ordination, excommunicated the most illustrious of living Abyssinians, and dragged the very saints from their graves. The Jesuits themselves deplore his insanity and wickedness. The people rushed to arms in defense of liberty and religion against such edicts as that which decreed death to those who could not believe in the two natures of Christ. At first they were unsuccessful, and Abyssinia for eight years remained officially a province of the Roman world. Five rebellions were extinguished in blood. Two native primates fell as heroes and martyrs on the battle-field. Neither merit, rank nor sex could save Rome's enemies when defeated. But Susneus, after a victory that cost him eight thousand yeomen, wearied of bloodshed, and issued an edict of toleration. It instantly betrayed the tyranny and weakness of the Jesuit, for soon every Abyssinian returned to the old faith. Basilides the crown-prince, whom the Catholics had partly won, reached the conclusion that "a religion which causes so much bloodshed can not be good. Though victorious, we had better return to the faith of the conquered, and like them remain faithful". When he became king (1633), he expelled the Jesuits, and reëstablished the national church. The Arabs captured the patriarch himself, and obtained a heavy ransom from the Portuguese of Goa, while others of the papal missioners died violent deaths. The Ethiopic church sang pæan, proclaiming that "the sheep were delivered from the hyenas of the west", and the Jesuit barred Abyssinia against Rome for centuries.

After 1653 the order was excluded under pain of death, but made many unavailing attempts to force an entrance. About 1700 Louis XIV of France planted a Jesuit mission in Cairo among the Kopts. Until the

present century this proselytism never attained more than mediocre success, but Sicard, who was an Egyptologist before Champollion, represented not only his society but French science, and shed luster on the mission. One week converting Greek solitaries in the Thebaïd, he was next week writing essays on chemical products, geography or the monuments. An Abyssinian emperor in 1699 invited Poncet, a French physician, to visit him, but the Jesuit attempt about 1750 was unsuccessful. The year 1837 brought another Jesuit. He awakened the old suspicions of foreign interference, gave occasion for the expulsion of foreigners, and all but ruined the Anglican mission. In 1859 again Theodore banned the Jesuits.

Between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers lies a third African sphere of Jesuit missions. This, now known as the lands of the Shuna, the Tabili, the South Africa Company or as Rhodesia, was erstwhile the Mwenemutapa's domain. Hither in 1560 came the ubiquitous missioner. The Jesuit, though at first well received, was after a year put to death as a spy. Other expeditions followed. Despite the failure of Portuguese Jesuits to found a mission in Madagascar (1580), the order toiled in Mozambique and up the Zambezi from 1610 to 1759. It had a college at Mozambique "City" and seven stations. These extended even into the district occupied to-day by the Shuna. Churches were built and schools founded as far west as Tati and northwards along the Zambezi. Kirk in 1860 came across their traces as far as the Rutsi country on the upper river. The Jesuits introduced the lime, mango, orange and other fruits, together with wheat and Brazilian trees. Zumbo, at the confluence of the Luangwa and Zambezi Rivers, was their chief headquarters, and they

created such trifling advance from barbarism as was traceable in 1855. Christianity continued in the Mwenemu=tapa's realm for half a century, but about 1610 (?1630) this particular district was, if not wholly, at least partially abandoned. Baesten states that "since 1633, when the *Historia Societatis Jesu* ends; especially since 1654, when the last *Literæ Annuæ* appeared, we have only a few data for Jesuit missions in East Africa. We know almost nothing of them from 1650 to 1773"*. When Livingstone visited the Zambezi (1856 and 1860), he found nothing apart from ruins to remind one that any Christian power had ever had missionaries or traders there. "Devoted Catholic missionaries", he wrote, "established themselves in a number of places, as the ruins of stations testify; but, not having succeeded in meeting with any reliable history of the labors of these good men, it is painful to be unable to contradict the calumnies which Portuguese writers heap on their memory. So far as the impression on the native mind goes, it is favorable to their piety and zeal. The writers roundly assert that the missionaries engaged in the slave=trade. This is probably as false as the modern scandals occasionally retailed against their Protestant brethren. Philanthropists err sometimes in accepting the mere gossip of coast=villages as facts. Others, pretending to regard philanthropy as weakness yet practicing that silliest of hypocrisies — the endeavor to appear worse than they are — publish the mere brandy=and=water twaddle of immoral traders against men who are an honor to human kind. It is much to be regretted that there is no available Catholic literature of missionary nature, and that none of the translations which *may* have been made into native tongues can now be con-

* *Précis Historiques*, 1878, p. 558.

sulted. We can not believe that these good men would risk their lives for unholy gains which, even if lawful, by the rules of their order they could not enjoy. It would be interesting to know exactly the real causes of their failure to perpetuate the faith. . . . Can it be that like many good men formerly among ourselves the missionaries tolerated slave-making (which inevitably leads to warfare), and thus failed to obtain influence by not introducing another policy than that which prevailed?"

Though other religionists kept up the Mozambiquan posts of the Jesuits after 1759, the Dominicans not quitting until themselves expelled in 1834, Roman missions in East Africa mainly lapsed. French Jesuits in 1844 undertook the Malagasi mission anew. Since 1868 Tananarivo has been their headquarters, and their political activity in behalf of France not seldom forced the Hova government to arms in self-defense. Contrary, however, to Jesuit expectations, the French conquest in 1895 resulted in the appointment, not of a Catholic, but of a Protestant as governor of Madagascar. A Catholic has succeeded the Protestant, but the Jesuits, as always, are losing their grip.

In East Africa, then, and in South Africa, too, according to Catholic witnesses, Roman missions have never enjoyed a tithe of the success won in West Africa. Corvo, a Portuguese minister of foreign affairs, confirmed the views of Krapf. Portugal left nothing behind but ruined churches, forts and palaces. She ruled with a rod of iron. Her cruelty and pride received their reward in bitter hatred. Such behavior accounts partially for the failure of missions.

Yet South Africa illustrates the vitality of the Jesuit and the renewal of his Zambezian work. In 1880, after

more than a century of expulsion, he re-occupied the ancient field that he had first entered three hundred and twenty years before. Reckless of the deadly climate, he as early as 1882 was in every locality promising success. He occupies Bulawayo, Panda-Matenka the great market south of the Zambezi, the Tati gold-fields, Sesheke, Tete, Mopea near the junction of the Shiré and Zambezi Rivers and Quelimane. He seems the same Jesuit as of old, merely adapting his method to modern environments.

The Zambezi mission began among the Tabili (1879), because there must be a base on a healthy and accessible spot midway between Cape Colony and the Zambezi; because Lobengula then exercised paramount influence; and because his marriage with a daughter of the chief of Gazaland might yield access to this region. The passage of Lobengula's realm under the South Africa Company (1890) opened a new era for missions. The Jesuits felt that the decisive moment had come for a fresh start. The company had made a large grant of land. The tribes were not ill-disposed. Protestants had long occupied the field. On the action taken now might depend the fate of Rome in southern Zambezia. But men and means were at first wanting. The sole dwellings then for the fathers and the nuns were hovels with walls and roofs of straw and floors of earth. Despite this poverty the mission aimed at more than building isolated chapels and stations. The Jesuit maintains that real and lasting good can only be accomplished by Christian villages where the faith and habits of Christian life are gradually learned. It was desired to found "reductions" not unlike those in Paraguay, famous for fervor and prosperity. Each new station was to be parent and center to many others. To start even one

settlement, however, required an outlay beyond the means of the mission. Unlike other missions, this belongs to no one province of the order, but stands directly dependent on its general, is recruited from every nationality and relies wholly on alms*. The donors "share the numerous masses which the society never ceases offering for its benefactors". The annual maintenance of an orphan costs fifty dollars; of a catechist, sixty; of a missioner, two hundred; but for a nun only one hundred and sixty dollars. A life-endowment for the nun would be four thousand dollars, for the missioner five thousand. To build a house and school requires a thousand dollars. Even a small church consumes double that amount. The foundation of a Christian village consisting of church, home and school necessitates the expenditure of at least five thousand dollars.

The journey from Grahamston, Cape Colony, to Bulawayo was so replete with picturesque features, and has, withal, been so thrust into the past by the railway, that the Jesuit description ought not to be denied to the reader. The caravan was organized on the model of trading-expeditions. Four huge, firmly built wagons with wheels over six feet high were purchased at a cost of more than five hundred dollars each. They were brilliantly painted, and placed respectively under the patronage of Britto, Claver, Loyola and Xavier. Each of these vans required seven or eight yoke of oxen, a leader and a driver. Together they conveyed enough barter-goods and provisions to last six months. The gross cost of the outfit was twenty thousand dollars.

*Modern Jesuit missions in Africa and among American Negroes are assigned substantially as follows: The British province (which, on account of the lack of affinity in the English temperament for Jesuitism, has never risen to importance) has Central Africa (Uganda?), Demerara, Honduras, Jamaica and South Africa. The Belgian province has Kongo. Castile and Portugal have the Antilles and Texas. Lyons has Algeria and the United States. Toulouse devotes itself to Madeira, Madagascar, Mauritius and Reunion.

On Easter Tuesday high mass was celebrated, and the bishop blessed the expedition. As the dusk of eve was deepening into the dark of night, pilgrims' prayers were read by dimly burning lanterns, and the missioners entered on the first stage of their travels, that to Kimberley. The rate of progress averaged about fifteen miles daily. The custom was to yoke the cattle at 4 p. m., and travel till nine o'clock, when litanies were recited and supper taken. From 2 a. m. the party again took the road until sunrise. Mass was then held and breakfast eaten. At half-past one in the afternoon came the litanies of the saints, the prayer of travelers and self-examination. Dinner followed at two.

Hardship characterized the journey. The roads were impassable. The jolting murdered sleep. The wagons were often imbedded in abysses of mire. Thunder-storms were of almost daily occurrence. The darkness of night would be shattered by flashes of heaven's red artillery, the cannonading of thunder, the tumult of torrents of rain and the yells of Kafirs to the cattle. It was dangerous to remain in the wagon, as lightning might strike the powder-magazine, but it was scarcely less perilous on foot. Cold and hunger were frequent guests, firewood so scarce that droppings had to be used.

The Orange was crossed at a point seven hundred and fifty miles above its mouth, where, though about as wide as the Rhine at Cologne, it is but three feet deep. At few spots could the characteristics of travel in pristine South Africa be seen to such advantage as here. A hundred wagons often passed in a single day. Fuel was consequently so scarce that once, merely to boil coffee, the Jesuits found themselves compelled to purchase firewood. When fording was attempted, the clay proved so deep and gluey that the wagons sank to the axles. The

guide was determined to have a practicable ford, the famished missioners to sup. A tall, powerful native bore on his back a lay-brother, who carried a huge coffee-pot and sticks of fuel. He was speedily followed through the water by another missionary, riding pick-a-back and bearing bread and bacon. Then the wagons, like a flying battery, entered the stream at a gallop, forded without difficulty, and ascended. Meanwhile the two brothers gone before had shown their mastery of the feminine arts and accomplishments taught them at Grahamston by the sisters in the convent, and had prepared supper.

The second stage of the journey, that from Kimberley to Bulawayo, was even more painful than the first. The conductor and the drivers quit, and the Jesuits, though it was customary for caravans from Grahamston to procure fresh spans at Kimberley, failed to do so. The neglect cost them dear. It was no easy matter to engage new drivers. The lay-brothers had to take charge of the cattle, the spiritual fathers to share in the night-watches. Every fifteen minutes a wagon stuck in the sand, its wheels buried to the hub. Again and again the cattle, exhausted and foot-sore, lay down and refused to budge. Fifty-eight oxen had been purchased in Cape Colony, but the forced abandonment of several and the straying of sixteen more caused the survivors to suffer severely. Sometimes a van had to be dug from sand, sometimes to be unloaded amidstream. Once the poor beasts went forty-eight hours without drinking, and the missionaries had barely a glass of water for washing with. On one occasion it became needful to smooth over a ticklish situation. This was accomplished through giving a concert, and the artist wrote that for the first time in his life he had played dance-music *ad majorem Dei gloriam.*

The missioners had long known that Shoshong was the headquarters of the British Congregationalists in the interior, and aimed to plant a Jesuit station among the Mangwato. Though told before leaving Kimberley that they had nothing to hope for, they clung to Shoshong as the paradise of their hearts. Upon arriving here, they requested permission to settle, but could not feel sanguine when they saw Khama sitting between two missionaries. The chief would not even touch the letter of introduction from Frere, and left unopened a letter from a Catholic resident of Kimberley. To the plea for authorization "to teach the religion of Jesus as well as the letters, arts and sciences of Europe" Khama retorted that he already had teachers. He looked with indifference on the gift of a rifle. In a second interview Khama put many questions as to religion, and expressed surprise that in one religion there could be two. "If," he finally said, "the two religions are the same, there is clearly no need of having more than one. If they are different, there would be continual conflicts, and they would cause divisions among his subjects".

Neither Loyola nor Machiavelli could have parried the stroke. The Jesuits confessed "it impossible to urge the point. They felt that an enemy had anticipated them, and could only resign themselves to God's will, and trust that He destined this disappointment to be the price for future success". Law wrote: "Khama unhappily declined having us, influenced no doubt by the Protestant missionaries. You can not blame him nor them, for we must always suppose they are sincere. If so, they would of course do their utmost to prevent what they in ignorance suppose a false religion from entering". But Schreiber added: "We hope we are not doing the Protestant missionaries injustice when we

express the opinion that the motives in their opposition to the Jesuits were not so unworldly as those with which Law in charity credits them. The king appears truly to be according to his lights a pious and conscientious Christian; the position held by * * * was lucrative and honorable, but a mere sinecure. Although the Mangwato were called Christians, scarcely any had a definite notion of the true God, and all were slaves to superstition". Weld, however, excelled Schreiber in absurdity and malice. "It will", he wrote, "encourage my readers to pray for this poor people to know more clearly the teaching to which alone they have access. Mr Mackenzie, long a missionary shall tell us: 'The London Society is a very broad institution, and takes no notice of clerical dress and appointments. Black cloth seldom extended further than the coat. Pulpit gowns and bands and even white ties were nowhere. It was not unusual for one of the ministers to make his appearance in smoking-cap and wrought slippers. The cap was off in church, the slippers not seen in the pulpit'. It seems then that those external forms of worship handed down for so many ages, and of which antiquity bears such testimony, with all their signs so adapted to assist our nature, are quite unknown; as if the dignity of God and His service and the frailty of our nature did not need external signs to help us raise our thoughts above things of daily life when we approach the majesty of God for solemn worship. Even the sacraments — channels of divine grace, so full of power, consolation and instruction, so medicinal in their use, so illustrative of their own work — have no place. Thus a highly respectable minister could for the sake of an amiable peace enter into a convention with a Lutheran to use the same church (each omitting such doctrine as was disagreeable

to the other), and flatter himself he had made a good bargain. 'The points on which we were to be silent', writes Mr M., 'did not bulk so largely in our creed as in that of our friend. It was no effort to keep ceremonies and sacraments in the background, but it was a different matter with our colleague'. No doubt 'the arrangement was carried out very harmoniously', and the minister never reproached for his largeness of heart by superiors in London. His teaching was [?] the cold, hard Calvinist doctrine of the rigid Presbyterian school, which gives men no part in salvation, no responsibility in reprobation. . . . These missioners go to the extremity of the world, and expose themselves to great dangers. They are supported by zealous souls at home. But for what? It can not be doubted they intend to render a service to God; but if man have no part in salvation, it can not be to save souls that they are sent. Should these lines fall under the eye of any colleague of Mr M., be assured they are not written in unkindness. I can have no unkindness to any who to the best of his knowledge endeavors to do good to his neighbor. I have special reason for good feeling toward these gentlemen. Our fathers have on several occasions had to thank them for their kindness. It is the system in which they have been educated without their fault that we must deplore. I write that fervent souls may offer one prayer more that God guide them and their flocks to the truth".

The missioners, although Lobengula was "perhaps already prejudiced by ministers of heresy established in his immediate neighborhood", determined at once to obtain admission among the Tabili. Lo the luckless "did not want more teachers", but the Jesuit capacity in mechanical arts led him to allow them to remain. One missioner had been a sail=maker and ship=carpenter,

and repaired the royal chariot, an African prairie-schooner. Another adorned its tent with a coat-of-arms that did honor to the heraldry of Africa. It consisted of battle-ax and spear, surmounted by a crown between the initials L and M for Lobengula and Mosilikatzi respectively. The barbarian was so tickled that he would gaze for hours. Music, too, had attractions, for when a missioner played the concertina, the royal hand beat time. But the chief triumph was the sewing-machine. Lobengula had seen much; but a machine that would sew was too much. It was more than he could believe. So a solemn exhibition was arranged, with the principal chiefs and wives attending. A father carried the machine into the regal hut. Skins were produced. The operator commenced. In a few minutes he exhibited four neatly finished powder-bags. The chief exclaimed: "What people these English are! They can do anything; yet they must die like ourselves".

The Jesuit regards all this as the sole foundation of missions. It is necessary, he maintains, to find something that savages can appreciate or understand before introducing sublime truths that would be empty and unpleasant sounds. Hence the fathers displayed a picture of the crucifixion with Zulus among the spectators, but Khama's folk were so well versed in the Scriptures that they felt the falsity of portraying their [?] ancestors as present at the cross. The Jesuits also believed, and rightly, that the difficulty of missions among the Tabili lay in the government rather than the subject. If despotic institutions could be relaxed, here was a soil capable of fruit. Weld thought it "probable that if we set aside the influence of despotic rule, which may itself be turned to good, the field is more hopeful than that of the Parana and Uruguay which produced so rich a har-

vest''*. The Jesuits accordingly felt that in securing a position at Bulawayo they took the step most needful for success beyond the Zambezi and in other regions. If their enterprises in South Africa could succeed, they would be established in regions wider than England, France or Scotland, in territories larger than one-third of the United States. Every year the need of missioners has increased and the staff enlarged. Though in ten years thirty-eight fell martyrs, in 1890 the Zambezi mission numbered twenty-five fathers, twenty-one scholastics, twenty-one lay-brothers, thirteen Dominican nuns and four school-mistresses. It had erected a college for colonists' sons, a preparatory school for catechists, an orphan-school for native girls and another for boys, three schools for native children, three hospitals served by nuns, three houses for work among Europeans and eight stations.

III

The Capuchins and Other Orders

It is manifestly impossible to recount the tale of Capuchin and other missions in Africa since 1520. All that can be, not achieved, but attempted, is a bird's-eye view. A glance at the list of Roman agencies will show this.

They comprise the archbishoprics of Algiers and Carthage; the bishoprics of Angola, Angra in the Azores, the Canaries, Ceuta, Constantine, Funchal in Madeira, Lower Guinea, Port Louis in Mauritius, Port Victoria in the Seychelles, Sao Thome in the Gulf of Guinea, Saint Denis in Reunion Island and Santiago in the Cape Verd archipelago; the delegation of Egypt (including Arabia); the patriarchate of Alexandria; the

*The Jesuit motto, *For God's Greater Glory*, has never expressed the order's whole purpose.

prefectures of the Gold Coast, the Lower Niger, the Orange River and the Sutus; the vicariats of Abyssinia, Benin, the Cape of Good Hope (comprising three divisions), Egypt both Koptic and Latin, Gallaland, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Kongo (with four departments), Madagascar, Orange State, Natal, Sahara, Senegambia, Sierra Leone, Sûdan, Tanganika, Unyanyembe, the Upper Nile, the Victoria Nyanza (with two districts) and Zanguebar. These forty-eight institutions in Africa itself do at least a measure of independent mission-work among the native or non-Christian populations as well as among the Christian or foreign elements. The Portuguese of the Azores and Cape Verd islands and the Spanish in the Canaries also aid the missions of the French Catholics to West Africa*. Strictly missionary work is carried on by the following organizations: The Armed Brethren of Sahara; All Hallows College; the Benedictines; the Brethren of Christian Teaching; the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide;* the Congregations of the Holy Spirit and Heart of Mary, of the Pious Mothers of Nigritia and of the Sisters of St Joseph; the Capuchins; the Cork Society; the Dominicans; the Franciscans; the Ghent clergy and Sisters of Charity; the Institute of Verona; the Issoudons; the Lazarists; the Lyons College; the Malines Fathers; the Oblats of Francis de Sales; the Oblats of Mary; the Pallotins; the Ploermel Fathers; the Scheut les Bruxelles; Saint Joseph College; the *Societas Jesu;* the Society of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary; the Society of Our Lady of Africa; the Sisters of Our Lady of Namur; the Trappists and the Vincentians. These bodies number thirty, but there are others as to which not even the names can be learned.

The Capuchins constitute one of the most extreme

*Baesten, *Précis Historiques*, 1878.

types of monasticism (1528). While the Jesuits developed the positive qualities of energy, the Capuchins gave expression to the negative qualities of ignorance, credulity and coarse sympathy with the lower instincts of the masses. They entered the Cape Verd archipelago in 1636, Benin in 1648, Loango in 1649 and Kongo in 1654 and 1682. When 1700 came, they had a convent at Loanda and eight missions in the interior, and remained almost till 1800. The new missioners preached against polygamy, but, stirring up only persecution for themselves, soon learned to tolerate such vices "as are to be expected in men of color". When chiefs apostatized, clansmen followed suit; if they returned, their people professed to do so. The Capuchins declared that there was no accomplishing aught without royal edicts, but used them to excess. In 1698 Zuccelli uttered this confession: "Assuredly the misery is great! Here is neither honor nor reputation, knowledge nor conscience, faith nor word of God, state nor family, government nor civilization, discipline nor shame, polity nor righteousness, fear of God nor zeal for souls. Great as are the sins, scandals and vices this people commit every moment, you can never bring them to shame. You can say nothing of them except that they are but baptized heathen, who have nothing of Christianity save the bare name without works. Utter ruin impends over the land, the people, the mission. There is no wisdom, reason, policy, counsel; none troubles himself about the common weal. Civil wars, enmity, murder, robbery, superstition, devilish arts, incest and adultery are the people's and the prince's virtues. Deceit is in full vogue. As there is no fortified place of refuge, men hide themselves in the wilderness".

This, for substance, is the story of all papal missions

in Africa during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Not a few noble efforts were made — by Benedictines, Carmelites, Dominicans, Franciscans, Lazarists, Observants, Reformati or Trappists — in various regions, and something was accomplished by several of these missions temporarily; but, according to Alzog, the result was failure. "There was little if any progress in the missions of Guinea, Madagascar and Senegambia. Far from being able to attempt to penetrate the interior, it was with difficulty that the church preserved to the opening of this century, here and there on the shore, some wretched remnants of the abounding Christianity once so prosperous". The dead hand of Loyola held the life of the Roman church in a palsying grip. The expulsion of the Portuguese from the inland countries of tropical Africa and the powerlessness of Christendom in Mediterranean Africa made nugatory the feeble endeavors of an impotent Christianity. From 1767 to 1829 the Vatican nowhere in Africa established new missions. The forsaken flocks, left without shepherds, went back to paganism*. Not till 1848, when France shook Europe and the papacy, did the African missions of Rome begin to revive. About that time old organizations renewed their activity, and new ones were founded expressly for Africa.

One of these is the Holy Spirit Mission, formerly at Bagamoyo but now, on account of undeserved expulsion, in Ibea. Between 1863 and 1891 it built up educational and industrial institutions commended by Stanley and Wissman. As Catholics constantly praise their missioners, in contrast with those of Protestantism, as if living on bread and water, it is interesting to find Stan-

*Baesten: "The Christians were utterly abandoned. From lack of priests the natives returned to their superstitions". *Precis Historiques*, 1878, p. 386.

ley saying: "The dinner consisted of almost as many *plats* as a first-class hotel in Paris usually supplies, cooked with nearly as much skill, though the surroundings were by no means equal. Nor do the padres stultify their ideas for lack of that element which Horace, Hafiz and Byron praised so much. The champagne — think of Cliquot in Africa! — Lafitte, Rose, Burgundy and Bordeaux were of first quality, and the meek and lowly eyes of the fathers were not a little brightened. Ah! these fathers understand life and its duration. Their festive board drives jungle-fever from their doors, while it soothes the gloom and isolation. It requires somewhat above human effort, unaided by the ruby liquid that cheers, to be always polite and suave amid the dismalities of native life". Schnitzer (Emin Pasha) had such an opinion of this mission that in 1883, though "not able to bring himself to the hazy sentimentalism that attempts the blessing and conversion of Negroes by translations of the New Testament and moral pocket-handkerchiefs alone", he attempted "the establishment of stations in that country [Equatoria], not in the foolish manner of past times, but after the model of Bagamoyo, though perhaps with less religious ballast and psalm-singing".

Bagamoyo, Gabûn and Reunion constituted the successes of Rome in the African tropics prior to 1868. Bessieux labored forty years at Gabûn, and built up the most flourishing institutions of Rome along the western coast. The Jesuits and (after them) the Franciscans and Camillists in Egyptian Sûdan learned wisdom from their failures, which here were due to no fault of theirs, and realized that tropical Africans must be Christianized through native agency. Hence Verona Institute to train African boys and girls as missioners. But in Algeria the

French administration was hostile to the evangelization of the natives, though Girardin about 1845 declared that "of all our establishments the strongest and most efficacious is the bishopric"; in Abyssinia the work consisted mainly of proselytism on the part of the Lazarists from the native Christians and of generally unsuccessful attempts by the Capuchins to reach the Galla; and in Cape Colony the Roman communion confined itself chiefly to its colonial adherents. Many Protestant denominations had now worked in Africa, and, though here but half a century, had already outstripped their boastful rival. It was time for a change. Though the names of Barron; of Bessieux who cried: "God forbid you should forsake this poor Africa!"; of Horner, Jacobis and Massaia, the last of whom wandered fifteen years between the Abyssinian mountains and the Red Sea that he might kindle the evangelical fire among the Galla; and of Regnier who at death said: "Tell my family and friends that I rejoice at having left all for my divine Master" — though these, to take but a few at random from equally heroic, saintly, self-sacrificing missioners, were Rome's heroes before her African Agamemnon; and though these and their comrades shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, as the stars forever and ever, yet with the accession of the Loyola of Africa to the episcopal throne of Algiers came a new era for papal missions. "After so long an eclipse", to use the language of Alzog who has hitherto unwillingly filled the rôle of the wo-denouncing Greek chorus, "new light has dawned on Africa", or, rather, on Rome in Africa.

CARDINAL MASSAIA

IV

From Carthage to Uganda: Rome's More Modern Missions

It was in Barbary, once the home of an African church and a nursery of great churchmen; under the shadow of the false faith that had centuries before destroyed the mission founded by Roman Christians; and through the black cardinal that African Catholicism revived. Lavigerie, a successor to Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine, became preëminently its apostle to Africa.

The evangelization of the Arab was the first missionary enterprise assigned himself by the archbishop. He directed his efforts toward the children. Famine and pestilence afforded the providential opportunity to reach the soul of the Muslim through the bodily assistance granted by Christian charity. Lavigerie gathered two thousand orphans, and placed some in an orphanage for boys, some in another for girls. He educated them, and trained them in industrial pursuits, especially in farm-work. A number entered the diocesan seminary, and became missioners to their fellow-children of the desert. In 1873 Lavigerie inaugurated the establishment of Christian colonies and villages, whose inhabitants are chiefly engaged in agriculture. In effect such missions and all papal missions are colonies of the Vatican. Contrary to expectation the hostility of the followers of Muhammad was not aroused on finding that the colonists had generally abandoned Islam. The Arabs regarded their countrymen's change of faith with indifference. They believed that liberty of action had been allowed, as well as the choice whether the children would remain with the Christians. Numbers visited the settlements and said: "Your own fathers could never have

done for you what the Christian marabût [Lavigerie] has". They expressed their appreciation of Christian teaching by such remarks as this: "All Christians will be damned except you; you are true believers".

In 1868 Lavigerie had shattered the policy of official opposition to missions, and had won freedom of action for his church. Several years later he shifted the support of his orphanages and villages on the state. The hope of evangelizing Africa had now become a principal motive. He desired to give his work new and extensive development; to begin again in a wider sphere where he could have unfettered scope. But in regard to the conversion of the Muslim he inculcated the greatest caution. His priests were forbidden to baptize any child without consent from the parents, unless it were known positively to be an orphan and abandoned by its relations. To baptize adults, permission must be obtained from the bishop. "It was not", he confessed, "by individual conversions nor by conversions not the result of deliberate conviction that we can procure the return of the natives to the faith which for the large majority is that of their fathers. The first and foremost means is the instruction of children".

"Let Kabylia loose", Lavigerie was wont to exclaim, "and in a few years Muhammadan North Africa will be Christian". Not quite so fast. When Livingstone's Kololo followers attended mass, they mistook it for mumbo-jumbo and witchcraft, saying: "We have seen the white men charming their demons". The Muslim is repelled by Rome's ritualism and state, the pagan is not attracted by her ceremonials and saints*. Tristram, during his travels in North Africa, especially in Sahara (1860), found that the Islamite displayed a marked pref-

*Bishop Hartzell in June, 1898, told the present writer that in Belgian Kongo the natives call papal churches the white men's idol-houses.

erence for the Protestant form of Christianity. Yet the redemption of Arab Africa through the conversion of the Kabyle remained Lavigerie's dearest scheme. To the day of death he believed it one of the surest means for making Frenchmen of the native races as well as bettering their moral and spiritual estate. From the beginning he had felt the need for founding a society of priests to devote themselves exclusively to the apostolate. In 1873 students from the Lazarist seminary offered themselves for African missions, and a Jesuit and a Sulpitian trained them. Lavigerie rejoiced to see the love of Vincent Paul, the faith of Loyola and the holiness of Olier typified in his society. This is exempt from the authority of the Algerine episcopate and subject only to the apostolic delegate of Sahara*. The course of training extended over five years. Once Lavigerie, when asked for authority to say mass, wrote: "Endorsed for martyrdom" on the documents as the society's motto. "Read that", he remarked to the priest; "are you prepared for it?" "It is for this that I have come" was the reply.

Work opened in Algerian Sahara. The missioners as much as possible assumed the manner of the natives, wore their garb — the adoption of the Arab white robe by the Algerine fathers giving the title of White Fathers to the desert-brigade — and ate their food. They abstained from public preaching, endeavoring by kindness to win confidence and by teaching children to remove the prejudices of parents. The school and pharmacy were the strongholds. In 1875 three missioners tried to establish a mission in Timbuktu, but were murdered in the desert. The triple martyrdom but filled the society

*About 1871 Propaganda had created two new missions: East Sahara, under the apostolic vicar of Alexandria, and West Sahara, under the archbishop of Algiers as apostolic delegate.

with holy envy and generous ardor. The failure to penetrate Sûdan from Algeria turned their footsteps to Tripolitan Sahara. They planted a post at Ghadames. In their turn these missioners essayed to open communication with the Negro nations by this alternative route. In turn they fell. Lavigerie, though amidst a multitude of arduous cares, wrote a long, tender letter to the mother of one of the martyrs. The White Fathers had already scaled the steeps of Kabylia (1873), but at this juncture Lavigerie decided to push the evangelization of its Berber Highlanders (1876). They had for centuries maintained their independence against Islam. They have for comparatively few generations been Muslims. There seemed hope for missions. Of the result Sharp vaguely says: "From what I saw in Kabylia I feel sure the work can hardly be overestimated".

The achievement in Franco-Muslim territory is even more due to the White Sisters than the Algerian Fathers. Almost from the first Lavigerie foresaw the need of women. To Pius IX he said: "Within a quarter-century French Africa will be civilized by woman". In 1868 some of the Sisters of St Charles entered Algeria. Soon came Sisters of the Assumption. Under the shadow of his seminary for missions Lavigerie laid the foundations of a humbler institution, a house to train feminine missioners. When nearly ten years had passed, the archbishop formed them into the Sisters of Our Lady of Africa. He gave them independent existence and self-government. They were to supplement the Fathers by evangelizing the women. Growth was slow, development very gradual. Prudence forbade following the heralds of Christianity into regions where women must be exposed to perils worse than death. They waited till the way was cleared and the ground prepared. Mean-

while they worked in native orphanages and schools, ministered to the sick, taught religion to the women, and finally founded houses in Kabylia and in Muslim districts. For a few years the results were sufficiently humble to give color to derision or misrepresentation; and marked enough to encourage well-wishers. At last even the hostile had to admit that a labor of extraordinary import, whether for ultimate evil or good, was being fulfilled throughout Algeria. Now the sisters are a recognized power. If in any region it were impossible for fathers and sisters both to remain, the men would quit. They are the pioneers or scouts, the women the first settlers who bring a virgin soil into productivity.

The death of Livingstone (1873) had more keenly than ever kindled the Protestant crusade against the bodily and the ghostly slavery of the African. It required the Brussels conference of 1876 to wake the Roman church to the full day of African missions.

In 1880 Lavigerie uttered the following statement as to the origin of the more modern missions: "On the shores of the Mediterranean, in Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt and Gallaland, we find [Franciscans] the sons of Francis; in Abyssinia those of Vincent Paul [Lazarists]. In Zanguebar and Senegal the fathers of the Holy Spirit make the name of Christian beloved. The missioners of Lyons labor on the shores of Guinea, in Dahomé, at the Cape; those of Verona in the provinces south of Egypt. The Jesuits are in Madagascar and the country bordering the Zambezi; the Oblats of Mary at Natal, besides secular priests in European colonies; the English and Irish at the Cape, the Portuguese in Benguela, the Spanish in Marocco, the French in Algeria. The prefect of Propaganda pointed out to Pius IX for the first time the proceedings of the Brussels conference. He gave orders

to confer with the superiors of the principal African missionary societies. All agreed as to the necessity of founding missions where the International Association established its bases. But where was a band of devoted men to be found, ready to risk their lives and provided with sufficient resources? The congregations already in Africa barely sufficed, and could provide neither men nor means for a new enterprise".

It was to the society instituted by Lavigerie and now three hundred strong that Pius IX assigned the first share in the undertaking. The Algerian missioners received the intelligence with enthusiasm and gratitude. "Our missioners", said an ecclesiastic to Lavigerie, "are still in the age of fervor. To sleep on a board or on bare ground, be poorly clad, feed on most frugal fare, be exposed to vicissitudes of weather, and at the same time observe every regulation with the utmost exactitude, keeping strict silence and persevering in prayer — all this needs nothing less than the fervor of the early ages". Africa was mapped out in an ecclesiastical partition that led the mission-magazine of the Scotch Free Presbyterians to state that whatever one might think about the papacy he could not but admire the daring of its schemes for the conquest of Africa. Pius IX entrusted four extensive equatorial vicariats to Lavigerie, and almost the first act of Leo XIII was to issue his rescript directing the White Fathers to evangelize Africa between the Kongo and Zanguebar. His signature to the decree of Propaganda sanctioned the plan of his predecessor, and new African mission-societies started into being.

The papal missioners arrived in Uganda and at Lake Tanganika in 1879. They found Protestants already active and successful in each region. Instead of permitting the fields to be distributed among the two com-

munions, they believed it better the natives should remain heathens than imbibe heresy. With all Africa to choose from, they, instead of selecting a post at a distance from Protestant stations, planted themselves (in Uganda) alongside those already established. This course gave color to the charge that "French priests arrived avowedly to oppose the Protestants by promulgating the truth as understood by members of their creed. They never concealed their enmity, if not to the Englishmen, to their teachings".

Were there grounds, political or religious, for the act and for the accusation?

The crusades had in the thought of the Orient made Frank a synonym for European. Since the crusades France has maintained a protectorate over eastern Christians, who include those of Africa. After the Crimean war that right was explicitly accorded to France. This is the key to Latin missionary activity in the Orient. It is the political power of France *plus* the ecclesiastical power of Rome. Though the French government at home has curbed the church and in colonies has harassed missions, France abroad has since the fall of Spain been the strong son of the church, and uses papal missioners as political agents. In French Kongo and Tunis the identification of France with Rome is such in the native mind that Christianity is called by the fetich-worshiper and the follower of Islam the French religion. In 1880 *Les Missions Catholiques* affirmed that French missioners "go from pole to pole to teach knowledge and love of France as well as of the church"*. At this time French influence was supreme in Egypt, which was itself endeavoring to acquire Uganda. Annexation was everywhere in the air. The statesmen of France

*Nr. 578, July 2d, 1880.

were employing all agencies to forward their designs. Missions were not neglected, though anxiety for the African's moral reformation veiled but thinly designs, which, if undertaken under any other guise than that of religion, would have roused the susceptibilities of Europe. Toward the expenses of one expedition (De Baize's) the French legislature voted twenty thousand dollars. Nor was the ordinary organization of the Jesuit and other orders neglected in the unconcealed efforts at territorial expansion. The Algerine Fathers, apart from their religious objects, were notoriously part of a plan to extend French influence. Lavigerie's anti-slavery crusade was not without an eye to the accomplishment of a purpose that gained for his organization the powerful indulgence of practical politicians who seldom feel an absorbing interest in sectarian schemes. Pius IX had seen the possibilities for Rome in Central Africa, and had perceived the urgency for instant action. The Latin communion, from the accession of Elizabeth (1558) to the headship of the English church, had treated the Anglican orders as null, since the possibility of their valid transmission is too remote for consideration*. Ever since the first Protestant missionaries entered the Osmanli empire (1814), Rome has conducted missions on the principle of aggression. In view, then, of the Franco-Roman policy, of Rome's attitude and ideas as to other churches and their missions and of collateral circumstances, the conclusion follows that the French priests intended to win Uganda for France and to destroy the Protestant mission.

The missioners tickled Mtesa's barbaric heart with arms, powder and second-hand uniforms. He received them with profuse professions of friendship. The cun-

*Leo XIII has formally and officially repudiated them.

ning barbarian gave the mission an acre planted with bananas, and thirty kine; provided materials and workmen to build a house large enough for the five fathers; and granted full facilities for evangelization. An orphanage was established, in accordance with the Roman practice, for children rescued from slavery. Soon a class of adults was formed. Several catechumens were received into the church on the following Easter. But the priests disturbed Mtesa's agreeable impressions. They had at once assumed an inimical attitude toward the Protestants, refusing to kneel at the Sabbath-service and denouncing them as liars teaching an alien religion. Mtesa asked: "If the Frenchmen believe in Jesus, why don't they kneel with us when we worship Him every Sabbiti? Don't they worship Him?" Lourdel replied: "We do not join in that religion because it is not true; we do not know that book [the prayer-book] because it is a book of lies. If we joined in that, it would mean that we were not Catholics, but Protestants who rejected the truth. For hundreds of years they were with us; now they believe and teach only lies. . . . There is *one* truth. I came to teach that. They are liars. They are liars to say we worship the virgin. They are liars to say we regard the pope as infallible. The pope is the king of religion in all the world. He is the successor of Peter, the successor of Christ. The pope is the only authority to teach truth. Wherever they came to teach lies, the pope sent his men to teach truth. If what I say is not true, I will die on the spot".

The effect can only be imagined. This position of hostility toward his friends astounded Mtesa. He had believed the new teachers friends of the old ones and that "the white men had not two religions". In vain

was the chief informed as to the minor differences between the creeds. No explanation could lessen his perplexity. The mischief rooted itself so deeply that it has not yet been eradicated. The listening chiefs turned sadly away, remarking: "Every white man has a different religion". Mtesa changed in demeanor to missionaries, refusing sometimes to see them, though less incensed against the British than the French. When a priest fell ill and the missionaries took medicine to him, Mtesa stopped the Protestants. The heathen and the Muhammadan seized the opportunity. Christianity was prohibited.

Encouraging reports of the "success" of the mission led Lavigerie to send a second detachment. This comprised twelve missioners, accompanied by six pontifical zouaves. The idea of this escort had been suggested by a father in the first expedition. The command of guards had often obliged the priests to perform a part little in keeping with their sacerdotal dignity, and it was thought that some of those who had in the papal army devoted themselves to the Vatican would a second time risk life as soldiers of the church. Before departure a farewell service was held. Lavigerie blessed and gave to each volunteer the sword he was to wield for Christ and man. The colors were also solemnly consecrated. After an oration on his crusade against slavery, Lavigerie, in pontifical vestments, knelt before each missioner, and kissed the feet of the youthful apostles starting on their rugged road. The custom is a recognition of the words: "How beautiful the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, that bring glad tidings of good!"

Lavigerie spoke of his men offering themselves in ransom for their black brethren. The words were predictive. Less than a year later eight had in heroic de-

votion laid life aside. Had it not been for Protestant missionaries near Tabora-Unyanyembe, all would have starved. The arrival of part of the survivors at Uganda enabled the superior to extend missions along the shores of Lake Victoria and to place a mission permanently at Tabora. The central position of the new post gave the missioners opportunity to *buy* slave-children and build up an orphanage where they are educated. After three and a half years in Uganda the French temporarily quit the capital. The superior wrote: "I am obliged to reprove their rash ardor. . . . Mtesa showed signs of an intention to stop by violence the progress of the Faith. The missioners in prudence felt themselves obliged to withdraw from a position they could not hold without danger to their lives". They denounced Stanley as a liar in describing Uganda so favorably and as a goodly field for missions. One wrote: "Mention has been made of opposition on the part of the Protestants, but I should be extremely sorry if anything were published to throw discredit on their behavior in general because of the hostility shown by one individual. In every instance save one we have found them most obliging and ready to aid, and have experienced nothing but kindness".

The labors of the White Fathers resulted in the formation of the vicariats of Nyanza and Tanganika and the pro-vicariats of U-Nyanyembe and Upper Kongo. Over the vicariats Lavigerie placed bishops chosen from the missioners. One was summoned to receive consecration in Algeria (1884). He entreated that the dignity be conferred on one less unworthy, while he remained in obscurity with his beloved catechumens. Lavigerie constrained him to yield, and the ceremony occurred at Carthage on a spot formerly the scene of the combats and triumphs of the early martyrs. Immediately the

missionary bishop hastened back to Uganda, accompanied by men eager to share his perils. Mtesa had died. Mwanga insisted (Oct. 1884) on the papal missioners returning to the capital. He declared that he owed his throne to the prayers of the Christians and, to show his gratitude to their God, would break with superstition. He habitually recited the Lord's prayer, and desired the native Christians to teach. The chiefs, displeased at the new departure, plotted to assassinate him. The Christians apprised Mwanga of the conspiracy, but he pardoned its ring-leader, his prime-minister. The man vowed undying hatred to the Christians, and resolved on their destruction. He poisoned Mwanga's mind, and induced him to repudiate Christianity. The Muslim influences that had excited suspicion and hostility in Mtesa against it brought about a change in Mwanga toward the papal missioners. Must not they be crafty spies to prepare the way for invasion? When the news of Hannington's approach arrived, a Christian, one of Mwanga's native counselors, did his utmost to prove the stranger no enemy. A Father added his entreaties. Mwanga promised to countermand his order for Hannington's death. Nevertheless the executioners speared him (October, 1885), and Mwanga openly proclaimed himself as persecutor. The interference of the Christians furnished a pretext for regarding "those who prayed" as foes. Persecution unutterable broke out in 1886, and for four or five years continued with bursts of brutality and long silences of death. The faith and steadfastness exhibited by the victims of the Negro Nero bear comparison with those of pristine martyrs. The savage persecutors could account for them only as the result of charms and magic. In 1888 the missioners were expelled. In this strait the French priests made com-

mon cause with the Protestants. When Mackay died, a papal missionary was hastening as a good Samaritan to nurse him. The year 1889 saw the return of Christianity, with Mwanga under its control. Rome threw a large force into the country, and strained every sinew to win.

The rivalry of churches began in 1890 to cause less trouble than that of governments and states. The distinction between creeds began to be lost sight of. Protestant and Catholic were terms heard less and less. The French priests preferred any power to the British one, and induced Mwanga to sign a treaty with Peters, a representative of Germany. The prime-minister and the Protestant chiefs objected, because he had previously put himself under British suzerainty. The priests scarcely tried to conceal their political venom. One wrote that ceaseless war with the Protestants and the extension of Catholicism must be aimed at. Rome was numerically more powerful, but the weight of character and influence rested with the Protestants. Even when the priests were devoid of politico-religious animosity, they could not restrain their adherents. Among the natives it was the English and the French party. Daily they became more and more pitted against each other. If the priests did not foster strife, neither did they discourage it. The Anglican missionaries begged their followers to acquiesce in the German treaty, so serious was the breach of peace, threatened by political dissension and religious variances. But anarchy broke out in undisguised hideousness. From sour looks and wrathful words the Christian factions fell to riot and murder. Not till Lugard took possession for the British company, did order come from chaos. The outcome of the horror is that in 1892 the agents of France and Rome were as-

signed with their converts to Buddu province, while Uganda proper was set apart for the Protestants. Cardinal Vaughan afterward agreed to send missioners trained in his college to work with their French fellow-Catholics, and it was hoped that this arrangement would remove the racial difficulty; but it failed of the success expected, and now Rome is replacing her Frenchmen wholly with English Catholics. The French realize the force of *pax Britannica*, and are convinced that Uganda belongs to Britain.

Cust, as loyal an Anglican and Briton as can be found, considers "both sides terribly to blame" for the unhappy, unholy imbroglio that made Uganda a scandal to Christendom. The present writer, after studying the evidence brought forward both by British Protestants and French Romanists, finds himself constrained to the conviction that the Anglicans deserve no such condemnation. The French were the intruders and aggressors. The system of which they were but puppets is accountable for the evil. Its theories of church and state and of their political relations obliged the priests to follow the course they chose. They could not act otherwise, and still remain loyal to church and country. To Rome's arrogant assumptions is due the perpetuation, at the heart of a virgin continent, of the variance between the Protestant and the Roman, of the old-world feud between the Briton and the Frank. Bishop Hanlon has, unwisely for Catholicism but wisely for Christianity, avowed an intention of disregarding the territorial division between the sister faiths. The Algerian Fathers have met with poetic justice and righteous retribution. Rome may yet lose her every convert in Uganda.

If we wish to behold how goodly and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell in unity, we may look to the Tanga-

nika shores. The papal missioners were in the kindest manner welcomed by Captain Hore, the retired naval officer in charge of the mission of the British Congregationalists. Their first anxiety was the establishment of friendly relations with the Ujijian magnates. The half-caste Arabs, on account of letters from the Zanzibari sultan, received them favorably. Their nationality also helped to save them from the jealousy felt toward the English. But Ujiji was unsuited for a center of operations, as the influence exerted by the Mussulmans over the natives would have largely prevented freedom of action. The French accordingly settled on the western shore of the northern half of the lake. They acquired sheep, goats and cows, sowed large fields with rice and wheat, and (of course) bought children. Owing either to the missioners not settling in the neighborhood of the English missionaries or to their being less injudicious, ecclesiastically, than their fellows in Uganda, we hear little of the rivalry that makes the other mission so notorious. The Catholics and Protestants around Lake Tanganika live in friendship. One of the French missioners wrote: "They [the Congregationalists at Ujiji] continue as kind as ever; the only thing I could wish is that these two excellent men were Catholics".

The task on which the Algerines most gladly expended their energies was the training of children as the nucleus for a Christian village. Upon the arrival of reinforcements (1881) the mission at once responded to an appeal from an inland district, and gained access to a region on the Lualaba. But the missioners brought ruin on themselves. They held that to purchase and teach slave-children, imbue them with Christian doctrine, habituate them to civilized life and make them evangelists formed the method most productive of permanent

result. This superstructure may not be unsound, but its foundation is rotten. The natives fail to discriminate between Christian slave-buying and Arab slave-stealing. One tribe robbed of its children by a slaver believed that he sold them to the mission. A neighboring tribe enticed or kidnaped the children, some of whom were so unappreciative of the privilege of being slaves to missioners that they ran away. The French finally manifested an intention of sending a strong force to demand the surrender of a slave stolen from them. The natives anticipated them, and killed two of the priests.

Another weakness of the Tanganika mission was its *quasi* martial character. Lavigerie laid stress on assistance from Joubert, once a colonel in the papal zouaves, for his movement against slavery and slaving and in his ulterior political objects. He took care, however, not to emphasize the point in his addresses throughout Britain, but at capitals where his plans would be received more sympathetically. But as Karema is on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganika and, therefore, within German influence, how long would the jealous Germans tolerate French fortifications and soldiery on German soil? Only while the Teuton could not reach the Gaul.

Amid these tragedies of politico-religious strife one gleam of humor, half comedy, half pathos, lightens their darksome pages. De Baize equipped his "missionary" expedition with an original outfit, for among other novelties it included a barrel-organ. The abbé held with Shakspere that music hath charms to soothe the savage breast, and fondly believed that her strains would charm the suspicious barbarians and soothe them into unwonted amiability. Alas! The practice of the Africans did not coincide with his theory. They had no music in their souls. They were fit for treason, spoils

and strategems. After a mortifying experience he had to abandon his terrible instrument and take refuge with the British missionaries at Ujiji. There he died, but not before becoming so convinced of his hosts' honesty and business capacity as to will the arrangement of his affairs to them. This was the French government's only return for its investment of twenty thousand dollars in a political missionary.

The Armed Brethren of Sahara constitute the van of these military and spiritual, churchly and political missioners. They form the papal crusade against slavery in connection with Rome's redemption of Islam and schemes for conquest. They originated partly from humanitarian motives, partly from the belief that missions can not exist beside slaving, but chiefly from the desire and design of spreading Franco-Roman influence. They were founded about 1891, and were to dig wells, establish oases and found centers of civilization. When the plan was first mooted (1883?), the committee received seventeen hundred requests for admission. Four months after the establishment of a house at Msila, Algeria, it sheltered sixteen brethren. Recruiting the ranks had in practice proved difficult. One of the primary rules laid down by Lavigerie was that no man over thirty-five could be accepted. Many of the volunteers were adventurers or unsuccessful men. Some were dismayed by the life. Some lacked the means to carry them to Africa. Enough to fill a regiment either did not start, or retraced their steps half-way. A proof of the impossibility of filling the ranks is afforded by the fact that some of the new-comers included men forty-six years old, while among the religious soldiery stand boys of nineteen still liable to French military service. Had the continuance of the romantic scheme depended on the

enlistment of Christians, it could hardly have expected another fate than death in birth.

Lavigerie, in order to meet these obstacles, availed himself of his orphan-schools. From these recipients of his bounty he expected eventually to draw an efficacious and willing contingent. The brethren are not paid, but the government aids them by sending soldiers as workmen. The time is divided between agriculture and religious exercises, with daily lessons in Arabic and an hour of drill. The Msila post possesses forty acres, tilled by the brethren, and is self-supporting. One and all are prepared to face danger and war, but it is only on reaching the age of thirty-five and after mastering the use of arms, that they are sent to the interior. As protectors of missioners their squadrons occupy Biskra-of-the-Palms, the queen of Algerian Sahara and about two hundred miles from the Mediterranean. They are also in Tripolitan Sahara, southwest of Fezzan, more than six hundred miles from Tripoli. No European power can tolerate their presence in any other than a French sphere. It is improbable that they will become a forceful factor in the regeneration of Africa.

The death of Lavigerie did not cause his crusade to lapse into casual, disorganized, futile missionism. The spirit of mightiest Caesar walks abroad. The White Fathers are better organized, better directed and more influential than when ardor and hardship were the outcome of his eloquence, enthusiasm and zeal. New work is projected. The order pits its strength against slavery, the trade being still frightful in extent and unutterably ruinous as the generator of the plague and as the unpeopler of large districts. Throughout Algeria and Tunis, thanks chiefly to Rome, but largely, too, to Protestantism, the church and college are supplanting the

mosque and mdrasa. Sharp avows that in French North Africa one of the greatest works of contemporary Christianity is being wrought out by missionaries of every nation and denomination.

V

The Outcome and the Outlook

To appraise modern Roman missions is difficult. Catholic statistics are notoriously unscientific. The late Dr. Shea used to mourn over the unreliability of those for his church in America, and to-day two authorized and official year-books of the Roman communion in the United States contradict each other. Such untrustworthiness must be and is still greater for the African missions. Cardinal Moran bravely claims that, excluding the Portuguese and Spanish islands off the western coasts, "the whole African group of missions numbers about six hundred thousand Catholics". How many of these are natives? How many are converts from Islam or from paganism? Where are they? Who are adherents, who communicants? Are not the adults a minority, a small minority, among the infants? Upon putting such queries to the official statistics of the mission-societies and of Propaganda, it appears as if Moran's figures were a gross overestimate.

Migne, the Catholic editor of a dictionary of missions published in 1860, stated that in 1830 there were no Negro Christians in Portuguese Kongo. In 1864 he acknowledged that the number of Roman converts throughout Africa would not bear comparison, and declined to furnish figures*. As Rome does not require reordination for the clergy of the Abyssinian and the

**Dictionnaire des Missions Catholiques.*

Egyptian church, (though their rites are extraordinarily defective and irregular), on the ground that the succession is unquestioned and the sacramental intention sound and sufficiently expressed, she therefore has no right to regard proselytes from native Christianity as converts. This term must be restricted in African missions to converts from Islam or from paganism to Christianity. If Rome, as the result of missions proper, have two hundred and fifty thousand adult native communicants, in distinction from adherents and baptized infants, it will surprise every thorough student of her work.

This chapter, based on papal authorities, has essayed to indicate the structural weakness in the Roman system. It is worldliness of method; largely, worldliness of temper. However great a success Roman missions may gain, this will prove superficial and temporary unless her convert and her proselyte experience the change in character that results from the Spirit of God vitalizing the souls of men with spiritual life. Rome often baptizes after confessedly inadequate instruction, and also baptizes even the dying. Her belief that the sacraments do the work of Christ and the Spirit will cause her mission-work to be the pouring of water through a sieve, her missioner to be the Sisyphus of Christianity.

Wielding the sword and using the state constitute another Roman weakness. *Illustrated Catholic Missions* informs us that as late as 1891 certain "mission-stations are built like forts, very strong, loop-holed all round. At Karema Joubert has come to do the fighting. He lives by himself with native troops. His work is to defend the mission-stations if in danger. The plan of operations of the French missionaries is to buy from Arabs, chiefs, parents or relatives several hundred boys and girls from three to five years old. Every child is taught

to work, and brought up strictly as a Catholic". Here we have good and evil, and the evil must nullify the good. Catholic missions universally inculcate industry, but build on sand. The missioners call their purchase of human beings redemption, and it is for holy purposes. Casuists affirm that since it is right to ransom captives from bodily peril or shame, it is still more right to redeem children for the purpose of saving souls. But there is no parallel between these cases. The necessity for ransom is forced on a passive victim. Redemption by purchase is the voluntary act of a free agent. The purity of the motive felt and obeyed by this outside party can not alter the quality of the transaction. It is making merchandise of man. It is to degrade him from a person to a thing, from an immortal and thinking being to a beast and chattel. The transaction is as much slave-dealing as that of the merchant. The end can justify no such means. This, by the common consent of Christendom, has been banned from civilization. Even to save souls the Christian has no right to buy men like cattle. Lavigerie in 1888 condemned the practice thus: "To attempt to ransom slaves and to announce that intention would be to kindle avarice anew among the exploiters and to cause them to increase their captures". No government should tolerate the abuse. If in Uganda any of the youth redeemed by papal missioners seek freedom from the British ruler, they can not fail to receive it. Were Rome to persist in basing Christian missions on Christless institutions and in taking the sword of state, her African work of this and the twentieth century would be doomed to as fatal a decay as that of the years between Loyola and Lavigerie. It would be useless for her representatives to swarm, as they are doing, throughout Belgian Kongo and German East

Africa. But if, as seems not unlikely, she learn from Protestantism, and give the Bible in whole or in part to her native populations and insist on Christian living among her native converts, then she will yet play a noble part in realizing Marshall's prediction:

"A voice from the east reaches the west. It is echoed from the mountains of Ethiopia and her ruined cities, across the burning plains of Sûdan, to the streams of Senegal and the parched solitudes of Benguela. The church of Christ shall at length intone the hymn announcing the removal of Africa's curse and that the blood of martyrs has not been shed in vain".

CHAPTER 13

1732 - 1898

THE UNITY OF BRETHREN AND THE NEGRO

Our Lamb hath triumphed; Him let us follow.
Seal of the Brethren

AN AMERICAN ORIGIN OF AFRICAN MISSIONS. PIONEERING IN ST THOMAS. DIFFICULTY OF NEGRO MISSIONS IN THE ANTILLES, CENTRAL AMERICA AND SOUTH AMERICA. COUNTERBALANCING ADVANTAGES. FROM ST CROIX (1734) TO DEMERARA (1878). "MORAVIAN" MISSIONS IN AFRICA SYNCHRONOUS WITH THOSE IN AMERICA. SCHMID AT CAPE TOWN. SCHMID'S HOTTENTOTS. BABOON GLEN AND HUMAN "APES". RESULTS. THE SIN OF DUTCH PRESBYTERIANISM. MAN'S WRATH PRAISING GOD. RESURRECTION OF HOTTENTOT CHRISTIANITY. GNADENTHAL IN OUR DAY. THE UNITY AND THE BUSHMAN. "MORAVIANS" IN KAFRARIA. ORGANIZATION AND RESULTS. "MORAVIAN" DISAPPOINTMENTS IN GUINEA AND NORTH AFRICA. THE UNITY AT NYASA. "MORAVIANS" AMONG HOTTENTOT LEPERS. DEFECTS OF "MORAVIAN" MISSIONS. UNIQUE SIGNIFICANCE OF THEIR SUCCESS. GEORG SCHMID. THE CHRIST IN HIS CHURCH.

I

The Unity in the Antilles and Africa

Seventeen hundred years had passed since the Ethiopian had groped with lame hands of faith, seeking his unknown Christ through the darkness. Fourteen centuries had elapsed since the entrance of Egyptian Christianity into Abyssinia. A millennium had gone in the sight of the Eternal as a watch in the night since Egypt and North Africa fell under Islam. Now from worlds undreamed of by psalmist or seer Ethiopia anew stretched forth her hands unto God. The African mis-

sions of the Unity began in America. Only five years after the renewal of the "Moravian" church, it was speaking of Africa, Lapland and Turkey as fields for new evangelistic movements. It discussed the practicability of evangelizing African slaves, Greenlanders and other rude and remote peoples. Though no encouragement presented itself, Zinzendorf felt sure a door would open into heathendom. Meanwhile, in the isles of the western seas, the people in darkness were praying for light and waiting for the law divine. In 1730 Zinzendorf visitied Copenhagen. A Negro slave dwelt upon the sad condition of the Africans in the Antilles, and upon his sister's desire to be taught Christianity. The news reached Herrnhut. Two young men independently felt themselves called as missionaries, and consecrated themselves to the work. On the evening of the same day they passed Zinzendorf's door, and the count remarked: "Among these brethren are missionaries to the heathen". The coincidence led the youths to reveal their thought. They avowed their readiness to sacrifice life for the Christ and, if need be, to sell themselves into bondage that they might save one soul. Greater love hath no man than this; but no "Moravian" had to become a bond-man. The proposal was not received with marked favor by all "Moravians". The spirit of missions was more specially developed among the Slavs, who had felt the heel of oppression. The Germans had to assimilate the new idea, deeming the proposition at least premature. It became evident how fortunate the Unity had been in not becoming a state-church, and in not amalgamating with other communions. Only a little while was needed to interest the whole church in Negro missions. On August 21, 1732, Dober and Nitschmann, two of its ablest men, set forth. "Moravian"

missions to the heathen were born. Blazon and grave their names in letters of gold upon thy portals, O land shadowing with wings, for light hath shined upon thy peoples in death-shades! Carve the day and the year in characters of kingly crimson and princely purple upon tablets of memory more enduring than bronze, for this is the true Emancipation Day of thy sable sons and daughters! They have seen His star in the east. The Brethren were the first Protestants, by their toils and graves to take possession of the Danish and British West Indies for Him who hath dominion from sea to sea.

Like apostles of old, Dober the potter and Nitschmann the carpenter bore their all in the wallet on their backs, and went afoot to Copenhagen. They arrived at St Thomas the Sunday before Christmas. Shocked by the unutterable misery of body and soul, they were comforted by the gospel-lesson for the day: The blind receive sight, lepers are cleansed, the dead raised, and the poor have the gospel preached. Next day they sought out the sister of the slave who had been the occasion of their advent, and read his letter to her. Then and there they proclaimed Christianity. The heathen Negroes who had supposed that glad tidings and good things were only for white men, clapped their hands for joy. The missionaries supported themselves, and were blest in their work until appointments at home successively compelled return. Nitschmann's place was taken by Leupold, who had joined Dober in self-surrender to foreign missions, and by seventeen others. In 1738 opposition became so pronounced that intercourse between missionary and slave was forbidden, and the "Moravians" imprisoned. Zinzendorf arrived, unaware of the persecution. Next day they were liberated amid apologies.

The difficulties encountered by these missions repay mention.

Sunday was assigned to the Negro to cultivate grounds assigned him in lieu of provisions. Weekly market also fell regularly on that day, and the chief towns exhibited all the noise and bustle of petty commerce. One Sunday a driver or overseer would accompany the slaves after breakfast to their fields, where all day they toiled under the burning rays of a vertical sun. Next Sunday they would wend their way to market to sell their produce and to purchase articles not granted by their master. The day closed with barbaric dance and feast. Christian slaves had to perform the same tasks on Sunday, unless the masters allowed them their Saturdays. Then they would go to market in the morning, and thence to divine service. It was no uncommon sight to see a yard covered with baskets whose owners were attending worship. Yet the missionaries did not even insinuate complaint. They adjusted themselves to circumstances, seized the fragments of the slave's time, and improved them as best they might.

There was in general no such thing as marriage among the Negroes. They herded like swine. Some lived together many years. Others soon chose new mates. Planters who attempted to end this failed utterly. Marriage was invariably introduced by the missionaries among their converts, but many difficulties were encountered The missionaries were frequently at a loss to know which might be the proper spouse. A woman wished to become a member of the church, but the man with whom she lived was not the first to whom she had been united. She had lived with many successors till, like the Roman dame, she could reckon her age not by her years but by her "husbands". Man number one

had, like her, many "wives", and was perhaps now living with one who had borne him children. Sometimes the missionaries contented themselves with a pledge from the woman that she would abide with the man whom she was living with when joining their communion. Sometimes they selected the person they thought most proper.

Though hostility to the missionaries was far from rare among the white inhabitants, such feelings were by no means universal. In some colonies there were not only no persecuting laws, but missions were encouraged by governments and slave-holders. Even in islands where persecution occurred, the missionaries had many friends. Some of these built chapels on their estates. Others contributed generously. There was scarcely a place of worship of any size, in building which the gentry did not assist financially or materially. Gifts of fifty to five hundred dollars indicate the feeling and standing of the donors. Even in Jamaica, where reputed fanaticism was detected with more than wonted keenness, most liberal aid was afforded. In other islands planters, merchants, legislators, presidents, chief-justices and governors not only contributed for church-erection, but settled stipends upon missionaries in remuneration for teaching slaves. On several islands the proprietors of estates and the remaining inhabitants were so satisfied with the missionaries, so well aware of the political advantages resulting from their labors in addition to the moral, religious and social ones, that they defrayed the entire running-expenses. Since the abolition of slavery the Antilles' view of missions has changed. Men marvel that hostility should ever have been shown at all against men so zealous and helpful as the missionary.

Though half of the reinforcements of 1734 died in a few months; though the Brethren knew their liability to fearful mortality, the church continued to supply recruits until the larger islands had the gospel and the stations formed series of "Moravian" cemeteries. Zinzendorf found nine hundred Negroes under missionary influence. Afterwards the number largely increased. These results were not due to low standards of Christianity. Converts had been made at once, but three years were devoted to careful instruction before they were baptized. Unlike the Anglican clergy of St Kitt who had baptized twenty-four thousand Negro slaves pell-mell, without examination, instruction or subsequent discipline, to live and die like the animals upon which the papal priest sprinkles holy water at St Antonio's feast — the "Moravians" had no place for baptism in bulk or wholesale absolution. A long probation generally followed baptism, before admission to the eucharist. Strict discipline was continuously maintained. No communicant was permitted to partake of the Lord's Supper without a previous interview in private with the pastor. Women were interviewed by his wife. Such strictness lessened numbers, prevented deception, and obviated disappointment in the permanent result. Masters and rulers learned at length that Christianity was not bad for slaves. A proprietor stated explicitly to the British Commons that a Negro member of the Unity had decidedly a higher market value than the ordinary slave.

Missions among American Negroes were undertaken in St Croix (1734), Surinam (1735), Jamaica and St John (1754), Antigua (1756), Barbados (1765), St Kitt (1777), Tobago (1787 and 1827), Demerara (1835 and 1878) and Mosquitia (1848). At the request of a plan-

ter in St Croix, the garden of the Antilles, the Unity sent eighteen colonists to act as overseers for his plantations and as missionaries for his slaves. Zinzendorf perceived the objectionable features, but was overruled. The mingling of secular with spiritual service led to divisions, and in some missionaries to loss of spirituality. Though good was effected, failure stamped the enterprise. The first regular mission began in 1740, but it was 1744 when the first baptism occurred. Meanwhile converted Negroes from St Thomas, sold to St Croix, spread Christianity among their fellow-slaves. Prosperity finally crowned Christian effort. When 1832 arrived thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty-three persons in the Danish West Indies — St Thomas, St John and St Croix — had been admitted into full communion. Since then there has been little growth, for practically all the blacks had come under "Moravian" instruction, while the natural increase is slight. The present proprietors are nearly all skeptics, and extremely immoral. The effect on the Negroes is damaging, and the black "Moravians" of these three islands number less than five thousand.

The Surinam or Dutch Guiana mission originated, so far as Negroes were concerned, in a Dutch planter's request that Brethren preach to his slaves. The purpose was thwarted by his overseers. Twelve years later (1747) another settlement was begun, but runaway slaves, the Negroes of the bush, destroyed it*. In 1763 a rebellion of African slaves ruined still another settlement. The government made peace next year with these self-emancipated Africans, and begged the "Mora-

*In *The Sunday-School Times* for Nov. 20, 1897 (vol. 39, no. 47) Bishop Schweinitz, an acknowledged "Moravian" authority as to his church and her missions, states that the bush-Negroes originated from 1620 on (the year of the Pilgrim landing at Plymouth) and that the Surinam mission now numbers nearly twenty-nine thousand adherents. The bishop's account of John King, the bush-Negro "Apostle of the Saramacca" (1861-97), is invaluable.

vians'' to send missionaries. Three settled with them the following year. The opposition of the sorcerers and the wanderings of the people rendered this field, despite their rich experience of unpromising fields, almost the most discouraging one of all. It was a century before spiritual awakening came, and then through John King, a converted bush-Negro who made preaching tours (1861-97). Yet the Brethren held on. Between 1735 and 1800 one hundred and fifty-nine men and women toiled as missionaries in Dutch and British Guiana. Seventy-five, or more than one annually, died on the spot. Seven hundred and ninety Negroes, bond and free, had been baptized. The remoteness of the slave-settlements from the coast rendered necessary an agency at Paramaribo the capital. Hence another experiment. Tailoring was started, slaves hired and access to these Negroes obtained for religious as well as industrial instruction. The missionaries extended their work to the neighboring plantations. The government became so well-disposed as to endow them with property. Since 1828 the wealthy Paramaribans have formed a society to aid the mission. For thirty-three years before emancipation (1863) the ''Moravian'' missionaries were appointed by the government as pastors for its prisoners and slaves. Though the mission among the bush-Negroes in Brazil had from 1854 to 1882 no settled missionary, and though in Paramaribo the Jesuits are accused of bribing ''Moravian'' converts into their church, Surinam is one of the most successful missions of the Unity. The adherents number nearly twenty-nine thousand, a gain of eight thousand in fifteen years, and read their New Testament in Negro-English. The success is all the more worthy of praise and wonder, when it is remembered that Guiana is a land of death, abounding

with more than the plagues of Egypt and the horrors of the Dantean and Doresque inferno. Nature ravens with fang and talon. A missionary said: We are a gnat against a tiger.

The "Moravians" entered Jamaica, the land of springs, at the request of two Brethren who owned estates, and were so desirous of having religious instruction imparted to their Negroes that in four years they aided the missionaries to the extent of $12,000. But the possession of property led to methods and relations incompatible with the best interests of Christianity. The missionaries came to be regarded as attachés of the plantation, became secularized and failed to identify themselves with the natives. Unintentionally they fell into the ranks of slave-holders. Naturally the slaves were indisposed to attend their ministrations. For seventy years results were small and unsatisfying. The death-blow to the slave-trade (1807) brought advance; the passage of the act of emancipation (1833) caused a greater step forward. Since emancipation itself (1838) spiritual Christianity has taken hold on the "Moravian" Negro. Between 1855 and 1880 the work reached a high stage of prosperity, and was in 1882 the largest in any "Moravian" field. The adherents numbered over fifteen thousand, of whom about five thousand were communicants. There was a theological seminary for training native ministers, but the average student was a feeble reasoner, shallow and satisfied when "dipped in a weak solution of accomplishment".

The Antigua mission was founded by Isles, who interested Rowland Hill in missions, but owes its prosperity to Braun of Pennsylvania (1769-91). The work was greatly impeded by the necessity for self-support, the practice of the Unity's early messengers, and by opposi-

tion from the planters. When Braun arrived there were fourteen baptized Negroes; when he left there were seventy-four hundred adherents. In 1834 the legislature ascribed the fitness of the Antiguan slaves for immediate and unrestricted freedom to the spiritual teaching of the "Moravians" and others. Forty years later, after a life of mission-service in Antigua, Bishop Jackson of the Anglican church publicly acknowledged that in bringing the blacks into the churches "the 'Moravians' nobly took the lead". The Unity has over seven thousand members there.

The Barbadoan mission has not enjoyed eminent success. But here the English "Moravians" began to contribute largely to the force. Among their missionaries were the parents of James Montgomery, the English "Moravian" and poet, who made the universal church his debtor for the missionary hymns: *Hail to the Lord's Anointed* and *Spirit of the Living God.* The earlier endeavors were attended with special discouragements. Planters invoked vengeance on the captain for bringing the missionary. A Romanist promised to fling him into the water, if he came near the estate. But here, as at Antigua, clergy of the Anglican church were loyal to the statute of the British parliament (1749) in which the bishops, the commons and the lords sanctioned "Moravian" missions in British colonies. Of Anglican priests in Barbados a Brother could write: "Their doctrine is more in accordance with gospel-truth and the articles than one is accustomed to hear in churches at home". Moreover, Friends had busied themselves in improving the outward condition of the slaves and rallied around the missionary. To-day " adherents number nearly five thou-

New awakened a wish in

well-meaning proprietors on St Kitt to experiment with missions. With several of the promoters self-interest was a leading motive, though the main mover had a genuine desire to advance Christianity. It was at his request that missionaries came. The Unity soon secured success. Less opposition was encountered from man than on most of the islands, but earthquake, flood, hurricane, pestilence and war harassed them. Adherents now number five thousand.

Tobago brings the romance and reality of missions into touch with the romance of literature and the realities of life, for Kingsley considered it Crusoe's island. If so, it was an augury of future missions that here the hero of fiction was saved from death and second death. One hundred and twenty-seven years had elapsed after that imagined event (1659), when the "Moravians" became pioneers of Christianity for Tobago. At the request of a benevolent, wealthy planter, who later became a "Moravian", Montgomery led the way, but men were so scarce and the requirements of the swift-expanding missions everywhere so multifold that Montgomery, himself the first missionary, could not settle permanently till 1790. The extreme unhealthiness of Tobago, even greater than that of the other islands, with the French revolution and Napoleonic wars caused interregnums and withdrawals down to 1827. Meanwhile the "Moravians" of the United States were supplying men and means, not alone for their own Indians but for the Negro slaves of the Indies. When (1817) the news reached Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, that in three weeks fever had carried off six missionaries in St Thomas, eight "Moravians" offered themselves that very day. It was the Bethlehem church that reopened the Tobagan mission. Its prospects were no less favorable than a quarter-cen-

tury before. The Hamilton family was as helpful. The results of the old work had lasted. Yet after sixty-seven years of effort the numerical success consists of less than five thousand adherents. The educational results are that the Negro *patois* has somewhat generally given place to respectable English and that Tobago has a larger proportion of educated inhabitants than any other island of its archipelago.

The West Indies missions were in 1879 arranged in an eastern and a western division. The appropriations for them were after that annually reduced by one tenth, until in 1889 the field became self-supporting. It receives no aid, but is an independent province and an integral part of the Unity. When it ceased to be a mission, this field had nearly forty thousand adherents and communicants. With the converts in other missions, they made the Brethren in Europe and the United States only half of the "Moravian" strength in missionary lands. Has there ever been another church of which this amazing fact was true? Though from the first it proved necessary to exclude many candidates on account of immorality, the work as a whole is encouraging. The deplorable effects of slavery are disappearing. Native helpers and pastors are becoming efficient. The churches are not only striving toward independence and self-support, but contribute generously for Africa and other countries. Some of their members have become missionaries for Africa, Mosquitia and Surinam. Their day-schools then educated fifteen thousand scholars. The Sabbath-schools had as many pupils and one thousand teachers. Two normal schools and a theological seminary were in successful operation. "Moravian" missions have vindicated themselves even to practical men. A bishop asked the governor of one of the An-

tilles: "What security have you against the slaves rising and destroying you all?" The governor pointed to "Moravian" mission-stations, and said: "This is our security. Converted Negroes will never rebel. Their number is so great that others could never conspire without their knowledge; and they would inform us". The experience of a century and a half has demonstrated the truth of that prediction.

The Demerara mission in British Guiana almost belongs to the failures. It began among the slaves of an estate that defrayed the expenses of the missionaries. Though hopeful at first, the outlook quickly clouded, till unexpected difficulties led to withdrawal. Forty years later the mission was renewed (1878) on another estate, that also supported the missionaries to its Negroes, but since 1884 the partial failure of financial support from the planter caused the abandonment of one of the newly-founded stations. The communicants number less than five hundred.

Mosquitia, the northeastern projection of Central America into the Caribbean sea, is a smaller Surinam. Back from its coast lives the bush-Negro or Maroon. There are also black or swarthy creoles, half Indian, half Negro. The missionaries established themselves at Bluefields, the capital. The Romanists of Nicaragua are credited with an attempt to break up the mission. The Brethren were forbidden to preach at Greytown, but the Mosquito chief offered land in Bluefields. The missionaries succeeded in establishing schools and stations, but to awaken interest in things spiritual required great patience. Yet faith triumphed. Polygamy once universal at Bluefields is unknown. The Christian natives contributed ninety-five dollars out of their poverty in 1881 to aid sufferers in South Africa. The members

number twelve hundred. The missionaries have realized their mistake in not mastering the vernacular from the start, and have prepared a Mosquito grammar and vocabulary.

The Brethren had been practically the first to attempt the spiritual emancipation of the enslaved and exiled African. They also took the lead in the regeneration of Africa, for papal missions had collapsed. Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau, the pioneers of the Lutheran mission in Tranquebar, India, had in 1706 touched at the Cape of Good Hope. Their account was not without influence in turning the eyes of Christians upon South Africa. Missions in South Africa and, thence, in East Africa thus root themselves remotely in India. A generation later the fame of "Moravian" missions had spread through Europe. To whom else could pious men turn, when affected by the misery of the natives, as were Alphen and Bruyn of Amsterdam? A letter from them reached Herrnhut on February 6, 1736; seven days later Georg Schmid of Bohemia was on the road. Lowly and unlearned this lesser Bunyan was filled with faith and spirituality, full of fortitude and zeal. Six years' imprisonment for his religion in the Spielberg had made this man of twenty-seven a graduate in the school of patience. Official opposition and savage stupidity could not affright one to whom the Ancient of Days had Himself preached patience. In quietness and confidence lay his strength. Clergymen appointed by the Dutch company to examine Schmid endeavored in vain to dissuade him. Unable at once to secure passage, the earnest "Moravian" earned his bread as a day-laborer for a year. Under God he during the voyage made five men Christians.

Schmid arrived on July 9th, 1737, only to be received with laughter and scorn. The Dutch who had professed

to desire that "their rule might tend to uphold righteousness and to plant and further pure Christian teaching among the natives", had treated the aborigines as beasts. The Boer regarded the blacks as creatures of the devil, as Canaanites doomed to destruction. To offer Christianity to black beasts was not to be dreamed of. It was intended only for white people. The Christian had enslaved the heathen where he had not exterminated them, and had imported slaves from East Africa, Guinea and Madagascar as well as Muhammadan Malays. To the curses of civilization the natives were welcome. They had to a direful degree become the slaves of drunkenness with its train attendant and to European diseases of frightful and fatal effect. When reduced to bondage, they were hardly encouraged to avail themselves of religious privileges. Over the doors of one church was posted the notice: Hottentots and dogs forbidden to enter. Schmid scarcely received credit even for honesty of purpose. None believed that there could be the slightest possibility of making a Christian of the Khoi-Khoin.

The Khoi-Khoin, though taller than the San, speaking another tongue and higher in social culture, form one race with them. Their special significance for missions rises from their language and the circumstance that almost the first Protestant mission in Africa began among them. Their nature was so much less savage and treacherous than that of the San, that the Dutch had a chance to get along with them. The San remained a wild man, the Khoi-Khoin assimilated the civilization of his conqueror. The language is unique in its ethnological interest. Moffat discovered a resemblance to ancient Egyptian, Lepsius held this opinion, Pruner acknowledged it, Max Mueller sustained the assertion and

Whitney repeated it; but Bleek, Gabelenz, Hahn, Friedrich Mueller and Pott pronounced against any relationship between Egyptian and Khoi. This is less cumbered than San with harsh sounds and uncouth expressions, being more pliant and much richer. Unlike Bantu languages it attaches formative particles to the ends of roots. From *khoi*, human being, it forms *khoi=b*, man; *khoi=s*, woman; *khoi=gu*, men; *khoi=ti*, women; *khoi=i*, person; and *khoi=in*, people. Like other human beings the Khoi imagines himself to be *the* person among people. But as primitive peoples are often reproached for a presumed poverty of terms for abstract ideas, for God, for morality, notice that from *khoi* are derived *khoi=si*, humane; *khoi=si=b*, humanitarian; and *khoi=si=s*, humanity. By gluing one=syllabled roots together the language expresses many delicate shades of sentiment and thought as well as abstract conceptions. It also possesses three fully inflected genders and numbers. We call the people who developed and polished such speech barbarians, but our Teutonic ancestors of the Christ's time, though speaking a language of Aryan dignity, were scarcely superior in social condition to the Khoi=Khoin.

San and Khoi are tonal languages, words acquiring different meanings according to the lower or louder tone of utterance. Among these sounds also stands a peculiar group of consonants all but unpronounceable for Europeans. These are the clicks. They are made by snapping the tongue against the gums or teeth and jerking it suddenly back. When we cluck encouragement to our horse or express annoyance, we click. Some Sans have eight clicks, but all are reducible to four: the cerebral or popping click; the dental or kiss=like click; the lateral or quacking click; and the palatal click like a woodpecker's tapping. These eccentric sounds led the

Dutch to style the Khoi-Khoin Hottentots, *i. e.*, jabberers or stammerers; but the Boer himself added clicks to his own jargon. It is only justice to Khoi-San to remember its wealth of diction. A San dictionary by Bleek was to contain eleven thousand words. Yet English peasants use less than five hundred.

The Khoi-Khoin in 1485 smelted and worked iron, and trained oxen as saddle-horses. Polygamy has seldom been practised. Kolbe claimed that Hottentot women were never ill-used. Skill in all forensic arts revealed itself at the public trials. Foreign languages are readily learned and correctly spoken. A power of adapting alien folk-lore to African intellects puts the Khoi high among half-cultured men. Four centuries ago he had the possibilities of progress, but the disadvantages of his environment deprived him of scope for his powers.

The hero settled about fifty miles east of Cape Town. During the austral spring (our autumn) and summer (our winter) his station was near a trading-post. Two Khoi-Khoin whom he had met at the town guided him. One was master of Dutch and invaluable as an interpreter, since Schmid could not learn their language, and was obliged to preach and teach in Dutch. He built a hut, planted a garden and opened a school. Before long he converted a Dutch corporal who became his faithful helper. When the hostile farmers procured an order for his removal, he, to avoid arousing antagonism, transferred himself ten miles further into the wilds. Eighteen of the Khoi-Khoin, who had already flocked to his mission, followed him to Baboon Glen. They were surprised to see how speedily he again built and gardened. At once he resumed preaching and teaching, planted fruit trees, and trained the natives in agriculture and

other industries. The people liked the only kind white man they had ever seen. He gained their trust. Of those who did not reside by him, several sent their children to his school. This grew to fifty pupils, and about as many finally attended church. The work demanded exhaustless love and patience, but soon many showed such a change in their life that visitors from Cape Town were astonished. Heathen consciences were aroused. Several natives became Christians. A much larger number were warmly attached to their teacher. One of the converts lived in the missionary's hut, and became his valued assistant.

Having received authorization from home, Schmid first baptized in 1742. As with the Ethiopian this event occurred in water beside the way while the missionary and his acolyte were returning from the capital. Somewhat later two men and two women were also baptized. To one of them Schmid gave a Dutch New Testament. This she kept for fifty years, and it helped to keep her a Christian. These proceedings at once awakened ecclesiastical and civic intolerance. The announcement that Khoi-Khoin were recognized not only as men but as Christians was construed by the Dutch as an unbearable rebuke. The chaplain examined several of the candidates upon Christian doctrines. To his amazement the natives read fairly, and answered accurately. Yet this favorable testimony was allowed no weight. The presence of Schmid was an eyesore. His letters, though he had practiced extreme caution as to Boer abuses, might reveal scandals that would startle Europe. It required little pains to stir up the strongest prejudice against him. It was made to seem as if his work involved peril to colonial interests. The administration deprived a parish-clerk of his appointment, and ordered him home,

merely because he had associated with Schmid. The missionary himself was forbidden by the government to baptize. He saw that he would be compelled to withdraw. Nevertheless, amid detraction and persecution he continued his beloved labors at Baboon Glen, in the garrison and at Cape Town. When (1743) officially recalled, his mission comprised forty-seven steadfast adherents, and he had also converted forty Dutchmen. The governor gave him a letter of commendation, declaring that "none had ever accomplished so much for the Hottentots", and promised that his flock should not be disturbed. With an aching heart he parted from the weeping Khoi-Khoin, and entrusted his work to Africo, his first native friend and Christian interpreter. He arrived at home (1744) in hope that negotiations with Holland would clear the way for the resumption of his mission. But the Dutch company was the power behind the throne in Dutch colonies. No petitions to the government availed, for no influence could move the company to allow the return of the missionary. Yet the man of God never lost faith in the eventual success of the mission. Every day for two-and-forty years he prayed for his converts, until earth's prayer changed to heaven's praise, and like Krapf and Livingstone Schmid died upon his knees for Africa.

Who will say that prayer is not a cause or potency in directing the affairs of men or changing the course of empire? The fervent prayer of the righteous man availeth much. The final fulfilment of the prediction justified the faith and forecast of the prophet. No Hebrew bard or seer, no martyr of the ancient church, no saint of medieval Christianity ever surpassed this achievement of the soul.

Above the tumult and the strife he heard the music ringing,
He heard the faint and far-off hymn that hails the new creation.

The converts kept together, and, though after a time they died or dispersed and Baboon Glen became a wilderness, Sparrman (1773) found natives who, despite a generation of neglect, still showed the fruits of teaching. Must we not believe that prayer and the Scriptures helped to keep Hottentot Christianity alive? It was only seven years after the martyr's translation that other men entered into his labors and built upon his foundations.

Meanwhile the Dutch of Cape Colony were filling the cup of wrath. They had (1754) inaugurated the system of commandoes,—man-murdering, slave-stealing forays which occurred annually for half a century. The method and the object were one with those of the Muhammadan or pagan slaver to-day. It was no blind chance that thrust Holland from the headship of South Africa. Righteousness exalteth a nation. People capable of atrocities so excuseless as those perpetrated by the Boers of Cape Colony, Orange and Transvaal were incapable of Christianizing the barbarian. They have (1650-1898) cost the San, Khoi-Khoin and Kafir two hundred and fifty thousand lives. Theal, the historian of South Africa, has attempted to justify the Dutch; but he can not away with the facts*. One of the participants in a massacre wrote publicly: "May God forgive the land!"

In 1792 the president of the Dutch company was a friend of the Brethren. Their request to renew the mission met with favor. The missionaries found part of the walls of Schmid's house standing, and fruit-trees amid briars†. For five years the shade of his noble pear-tree

*The Hon. James Bryce expresses an opinion as to Theal's *History of the Boers* that applies equally to his *Story of South Africa*. Professor Bryce says the book is "deformed by prejudice against missionaries with a corresponding disposition to extenuate the faults of the Boers in their dealings with the native races". (*The Forum*, v. 21, no. 2 (April, 1896), p. 148.)

†*Cf.* Isaiah: Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir, instead of the briar the myrtle; and it shall be to the Lord a name, an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.

served as church and school for the Khoi-Khoin who gathered again. Half-blind Magdalena, eighty years old and baptized forty-eight years before, came with her New Testament, and gave evidence that those planted in the house of the Lord flourish in His courts, and bring forth fruit in old age. One "remembered what his father used to say, exhorting the children to follow people who would come from a distant country, and show a narrow way by which they might escape the great fire and find God". Within a twelvemonth seven converts were baptized. Despite Dutch malignity and opposition the missionaries had such proof that the mission was divinely planted, that the glen of baboons was renamed the vale of grace. Baviaanskloof became Gnadenthal. The Boers maintained that the missionaries taught the natives every crime, and ought to be put to death. A hundred farmers armed to murder the Brethren, and were only stopped by the English general (1796). The British protectorate curbed persecution. Annexation killed it. Meanwhile the desire to receive Christian instruction so increased that missionary reinforcements were summoned. The year 1800 saw Gnadenthal a thriving village of twelve hundred inhabitants, with fine schoolhouses, a mill and other industries of civilized life. There were years when the baptisms numbered not less than seventy. Gradually the mission gained the confidence of the decent Dutch. Jansen enlisted native soldiers, and appointed a "Moravian" chaplain. The behavior of the Gnadenthal community conquered confidence from Dutch magistrates. One testified (1802) that its Hottentots "distinguished themselves by their obedience to the missionaries and their orderly conduct. He never had any complaints. They did not need a justice of the peace. In other places wherever three

hundred people got together, a justice had enough to do".

In 1806 Martyn wrote that the mountains eastward formed a cheering contrast to the British capture of Cape Town, for behind them "his beloved and honored fellow-servants were imparting truth to benighted souls and spreading the gospel of peace and love". On the battle-field of Dutch and British he lifted his soul to God for Africa. Afterwards "he prayed that the capture might be ordered to the advancement of Christ's kingdom; and that England while she sent the thunder of her arms to distant regions might not remain proud and ungodly, but show herself great indeed by sending her church to diffuse the gospel"*. But it was not Martyn who took possession of South Africa for Christ. No historian of the Christianization of Africa can put this scene in its forefront. This has been filled forever by the form of Georg Schmid. On his knees he took possession of South Africa for Christ five-and-forty years before Martyn was born, seventy years before Martyn trod the Cape. Moreover, British Congregationalists arrived before Anglican missionaries. Martyn enjoyed the delight of meeting with the venerable Vanderkemp of Holland†. The British influence had from 1795 to 1803 gained tolerance for missions, and was to do so from 1806 on; but it was not Martyn the Anglican, not the established church of England that first set up the kingdom of Christ in modern Africa.

The first British governor showed much friendliness, soliciting the Brethren to establish a new settlement and giving land. Even such dislikers or enemies of missions

*"The future historian of the Christianization of Africa will not fail to put in the forefront Martyn on his knees taking possession for Christ". (*Henry Martyn*, p. 125, by Geo. Smith, C.I.E., LL.D.)

†The Netherlands Society, founded by Vanderkemp in 1797, had sent missionaries under the London Society to Cape Colony, but soon withdrew. Afterward it established a mission among the Negroes of Surinam.

as Burchell, Lichtenstein and Napier spoke favorably of Gnadenthal. Among the natives its reputation as an inviting spot spread far and wide. Khoi-Khoin would come long distances to enjoy its privileges. From the Kafrarian border, six weeks' journey, came a whole family. Twenty-three from a still remoter region also settled at Gnadenthal. Barrow noted that the first Hottentots to join the church were dressed in cotton prints, while the other half wore the old-time sheepskin. He inferred that the change of life involved no suffering in outward circumstances. Neighboring colonists, not a few, have been much benefited in morals and religion, and acknowledge their indebtedness to Christian servants as well as to missionaries. In 1833 a spiritual awakening among the Boers near Gnadenthal led them to sit with gladness beside the once-despised Khoi-Khoin. Five years later a training-school for native helpers was established, and now two religious periodicals are regularly issued. The Brethren themselves engage in farming or in mechanical occupations, the profits always going to the mission; and their practice and precept exert so persuasive influence, that the Khoi-Khoin, though proverbial for idleness and inefficiency, are industrious in agriculture and the handcrafts. At all the "Moravian" stations in western Cape Colony are chapels and school-houses, while two have carpenter-shops, forges, wheelwrights and manufactures of coarse cutlery. When the half-century jubilee of Gnadenthal came, thirty-nine hundred and eight souls had received baptism. It is to-day one of the large missions of South Africa, a radiating and representative center with over five thousand adherents.

The "Bushman" or San, whose original habitat comprised all South Africa and who was the first modern

Pygmy to be really known, was the next of Africa's wretched native children to enjoy "Moravian" ministrations. His endurance, fleetness and other gifts as a hunter are preternatural, but his delight in cruelty is fiendish. It is, however, equalled by that of the Boer, who considered it as much a duty to slay the San as the hyena. Might not Dutch wickedness inspire San malignity? The San appreciates kindness, is capable of attachment and, under favorable conditions, possesses respectable endowments for culture. The moral sensibilities may be low, but he has only one wife and is reasonably constant to their children. He believes not only in a spirit-world but in the future life. He avers that "death is merely sleep". If captured in youth and brought up in family-life, he readily learns everything. He enjoys a greater flow of spirits than the Bantu and the Khoi-Khoin, his neighbors, expending his vitality in dances, extempore recitals and songs. His oral treasure of fables, myths and tales excites the wonder of every student. His cultural significance for civilization is that he, save for the ancient Egyptian and (possibly) the modern Abyssinian, is Africa's one genuine artist. His moral value for missions is that he, together with the Khoi, demonstrates Christianity's power to save unto the uttermost.

While the "Moravians" have established no missions exclusively for the San, they have received individuals and families into their stations. One woman "came because she knew that Baviaanskloof was an asylum for sinners". Another San gave evidence of remarkable mental acumen and moral perceptions by putting these questions to colonists: Why are we oppressed and persecuted by Christians? Is it because we live in deserts, clothe ourselves with skins, and feed on locusts and

wild honey? Is there anything morally better in one kind of raiment or food than another? Was not John the Baptist a Bushman? Did he not dwell in a wilderness? Was not he clothed with a leathern girdle? True, he was beheaded; but not because a Bushman but because a faithful preacher. Where do Christian men find anything in their religion to justify them for robbing and shooting us because we are Bushmen?

Paul toiling for the Gentiles, Paley expounding natural theology, Sumner pleading for the slave could not have bettered this address.

D'Urban characterized the Kafir as an irreclaimable savage. The Unity undaunted moved on the dominant race of Cape Colony and Kafraria (1818). The first Kafir had been baptized at Gnadenthal as early as 1808. Others had heard the gospel. But Shiloh, the first "Moravian" mission among them, was not established until 1828, though, as an advanced post for efforts among the Kafir, Enon was then ten years old. At the request of Somerset and of the Tambuki, Brethren from Gnadenthal, twenty Khoi-Khoin and a Kafir woman who proved herself an invaluable helper to the missionaries in their difficult and often perilous task settled on the Kafrarian frontier. They were nearly six hundred miles east of Cape Town, and outside the colony. Within a month after their arrival services were held in an embryo church, while the natives were amazed and pleased at the happy effects of irrigation. The Brethren had at once recognized it as a *sine qua non* of harvests. The missionaries were under the necessity of communicating with the natives through an interpreter. The Tambuki claimed that Christianity was only for white people; but when they realized the advantages of agriculture over herding, many settled and attended service more regu-

larly. Wilhelmina the Kafir was a host in herself. Single-handed she faced a party of fifty Tambuki who with their chief had come to murder the missionaries, and drove them away. When the Fetkana lifted cattle, Benkes, a Christian Hottentot herder who had lost nine hundred dollars in stock, remarked: "I hope one day to assist in bringing the gospel to the Fetkana themselves". Through difficulties, hindrances and trials the missionaries persevered till they based the work on a firm foundation. The first convert was baptized January 6th, 1830, but the frequent wars among the tribes caused such changes that it seemed impossible to establish settled congregations. Within twenty years Shiloh, though composed at first mainly of Tambuki folk, became a village of Fingu and Khoi-Khoin. A movement was begun (1839) in behalf of the Fingu, fugitive Kafirs seeking British protection, but "Moravian" work among the Kafir has not been so successful as that for the Khoi-Khoin. Though there has been fair success, especially among the Tambuki, the masterful Kafir does not present so promising a field as the bruised Bushman and the harried Hottentot for the quiet approaches of the meek "Moravian". During intervals of peace other stations were established, and in war-time nearly all were plundered again and again. In the Kafir war of 1835 and in later uprisings the Enon community was obliged to flee, but in 1847 this was the only post to escape destruction. With one exception the ruined stations were restored. At Ezincuka, after the war of 1880, an earnest Christian chief built the chapel for the new station entirely at his own expense. Served by a Kafir missionary, the first (1883) Kafir deacon of the Unity, Ezincuka is an enterprise of "Moravian" Kafirs. On the whole, however, the Kafrarian missions are discourag-

ing. The instability of the natives, the evil influence of dissipated whites and the alleged lack of harmony between missionaries of various communions evangelizing Kafraria militate against progress. Freeman declared that the savage Kafir should be made to sink before industrious men of superior race. When twenty years of toil on the part of hard-working Brethren had created an oasis of comparative civilization, Englishmen importuned the governor to exile the "Moravians" to the heart of Kafraria and to hand Shiloh's beautiful watercourses, comely cots and fruitful fields to them. Governor Smith was the last man to countenance the unutterable baseness of this bare-faced robbery. He declared that the frontier would be better guarded by nine missions than by as many forts. Other colonial governors — Frere the old time African proconsul of Britain, Maitland and Shepstone — have spoken in the highest terms of missions and their results, and have individually and officially lent important aid.

Prior to 1869 the "Moravian" missions in Cape Colony and Kafraria were in an upper district and in the lowland, the former embracing the stations near Cape Town and Algoa Bay, the latter all the posts in Kafraria. Since that year this extensive sphere has been divided into a western and an eastern province. In 1892 these provinces had thirteen thousand, four hundred and thirty-one adherents. These black Brethren were distributed among twenty-five central stations and preaching-places under the care of sixty married white missionaries, eight unmarried white ones, six native missionaries with six native assistant-missionaries, forty-five Bible-readers and three hundred and forty-six native helpers. There were also thirty-four day-schools with three thousand and thirty-one pupils taught by sixty-nine teachers and nine-

teen monitors; and fifteen Sabbath-schools with six hundred and sixty-five scholars, forty-one teachers and twelve assistants. The Gnadenthal normal school (1838) and the religious periodicals have contributed largely to success by placing efficient laborers in the field and by awakening intelligent interest in their task.

Luke states that Paul was "forbidden by the Holy Spirit to preach in Asia" and that the Spirit did not permit his attempt to evangelize Bithynia. This experience befell Paul before the expiration of a decade in his career as a missionary to other peoples than the Jews. If "Moravians", in the course of nearly two centuries of missions, had not found themselves constrained to retire from some fields, their fortunes would not have been apostolic. They would have been singular, unique, unprecedented. Africa bears witness as truly to "Moravian" disappointment as to success.

A mulatto inspired the Unity to enter Guinea. It was fit that they who had first gone to the Negro slave in his American home, should be the first Protestant missionaries proper to enter his old home. It was peculiarly fit that, as the Antillean Negro had acquainted the Brethren with the prayer of the slave for a messenger of salvation, a mulatto of Guinea should offer himself as the Unity's missionary to the Gold Coast. This was Christian Protten. Anthony and Christian are the two men, themselves both Africans, to whose initiative is due the beginning of "Moravian" missions to Africans. Protten had been sent to Copenhagen from a Danish settlement south of Ashanti. He had received a theological education at the Scandinavian Athens. There he met Zinzendorf (1735). At Herrnhut he accepted Christianity. He offered his services immediately. At the same time several Hollanders granted free trans-

portation and other aid for a mission among free Negroes. The Brother who gladly accepted the appointment to accompany Protten was, like Schmid, an exile from his native Moravia. The fearlessness, intrepidity and unconquerable endurance of the natives of Moravia were the admiration of Zinzendorf, and caused him to exclaim: They are an immortal race, these toilers. Like Livingstone they seemed immortal till their work was done. Protten and Hukoff, though starting from Herrnhut later than Schmid, were not delayed, and reached Africa before him. They were the first evangelical missionaries, since the ancient African church, who went to Africa with the exclusive purpose of carrying Christianity to its native heathen*. With high hope they opened a mission-school among the Akra Negroes. But in a few months Hukoff died. Protten, in constant danger of enslavement or of being devoured, dared not remain alone. He was recalled, but a few years later was teaching a school for mulattoes near Christiansborg. In 1768 he associated with five Brethren who had accepted the invitation of a Danish commercial company to labor in its neighborhood. Three of them, despite the tender care of Protten and his wife, died of fever. No sooner did the intelligence reach Europe than volunteers presented themselves. Four were chosen as the lost troop of a last attempt at footing in the land of death-shades. When (1770) they reached Christiansborg, they found Protten dead (1769). With the two surviving missionaries they prepared to settle among wild Negroes, drafted their building plans and laid out mission-grounds. These included a cemetery. Before the end of the year every missionary was dead. The Unity interpreted the loss as the oracle of God that it cease from effort for the Gold

*Are Heyling and others, 1634, 1660, 1662, real exceptions?

Coast. Yet in 1842 under the auspices of the Basel Society "Moravian" Negroes from the Unity's missions in the West Indies carried Christianity to the land of their fathers, and met with success.

There was failure, too, in Algeria and Egypt. At Algiers a wealthy merchant felt constrained (1741), although far advanced in age, to undertake a mission in behalf of Christian slaves. After five months of zealous and successful toil, he fell a victim to the plague. Other Brethren succeeded him, but no records of success on their part are accessible. In Egypt three attempts having Abyssinia for their goal proved abortive. From 1752 to 1783 Hocker, almost the first Protestant medical missionary, Pilder, Danke and Antes the Pennsylvanian made repeated efforts to reach the Abyssinian Christians; but death, illness or shipwreck caused failure*. Something was attempted among the Egyptian Christians. They were quite indisposed to receive the truth. The Brethren were subjected to terrible cruelties. Political disturbances rendered necessary the abandonment of Egypt. Yet the field was not surrendered until many Kopts and at least one Muhammadan had accepted Protestantism.

The youngest African mission (1891) of the Unity is that in the southwestern corner of German East Africa. It is located near the north shore of Lake Nyasa, at the foot of the Rungwi Mountains. Four young men consecrated their energies to this work, one of them dying of African fever before arrival at his destination, but two more men and one woman were in 1893 under appointment for this field. Illness and the incursions of marauders interfered greatly with early progress, but recent intelligence is encouraging. The mission has been

*Hesse asserts that Heurnius of Holland was Protestantism's first medical missionary (1624-38).

most successful in teaching the natives to build and till.

An independent work of peculiar and touching interest was the mission among the lepers of Cape Colony (1823-67). Established by the authorities, they entrusted the loathsome task to the missionaries. Seventy miles east by south of Cape Town and near the southern seas lies a deep, secluded glen, far from human habitation and encircled by cliffs so close and lofty that only the sky and the earth are visible. Hence the name, Hemel-en-Aarde. It sounds like hideous mockery so to name this hell of foul and hopeless misery. It would have been mockery but for the heroism and holy self-denial of the "Moravian". Here the first hospital was erected (1818), and a large space enclosed with a high wall whose single entrance was strictly guarded. Over this gate might well have been written the dire doom denounced by the dread portals of Dante's inferno: "Leave hope behind all ye who enter here". The leper who entered could never return. The mistake has been made of supposing that this held for missionaries in charge and that entrance upon service involved perpetual renunciation of the world. This is entirely inaccurate. No hindrance existed against free egress for them. "Moravian" writers have made more than one attempt to correct the misapprehension, but without success. Romance keeps the baseless statement afloat, and the fiction of missionaries selling themselves into slavery*.

To this place the colonial government, fearing the spread of leprosy, had removed Christian Hottentots from "Moravian" settlements as well as others. The faithful pastors paid occasional visits, and embraced the opportunity of preaching to all. Within five years the government of Cape Colony requested the Unity to ap-

*Thompson, *Moravian Missions*, Scribner's ed., 1882, p. 389.

point a missionary as manager of the institution and as the instructor of its inmates in Christianity. Leitner and his English wife consecrated themselves to living death in this lazaretto. With heroic devotion they entered upon their self-denying, repulsive, perilous duties among hundreds of wretched lepers. No more uninviting field can be imagined than these wasting sufferers and remnants of human wreckage — unutterably crippled, deformed and loathsome. For the simplest garden-work one patient must be supplemented by another. The man without hands bore him who had lost his feet, and the latter planted the seeds. Year by year, for six weary twelvemonths, the work progressed. Diligence superseded idleness. Soon the hospital was surrounded by neat gardens. A large plot was cultivated for the general benefit. Assisted by such lepers as could still work, Leitner constructed an aqueduct to supply the little colony with water. No wonder the afflicted household looked up to the missionary as their father! Though the great majority were heathens, they gladly received the tidings about the divine Friend and Healer of the leper. The faith and efforts of the Leitners were blest. Before his death Leitner had the joy of baptizing no less than ninety-five of the poor creatures. Another Brother said: Among the sufferers in the lazar-house are many who rejoice in God and in assurance of a better world. In the hope of being soon with Christ in glory they watch their diseased tabernacles falling to pieces. It makes one shudder to visit the patients, such pitiable objects are they and so sickening the stench; yet when you converse on the concerns of the soul and find them full of faith and joyous confidence in their Savior's merits, it shames your fastidiousness.

It was the saddest of Easters (1829) when sudden

death removed Leitner while baptizing a convert, but his successors continued his work for ten years in the same devoted spirit. In 1846 the government removed the hospital to Robben Island, a sandspit seven miles from Cape Town. At the earnest request of the lepers the "Moravian" missionaries accompanied them, and continued to minister to their spiritual needs. The charge of the institution was now committed to government officials, the duties of the missionaries being restricted to education and religion. The number of lepers, lunatics and paupers was about three hundred. A school was begun for the children of lepers and for adults desiring education. A leprous English youth volunteered as its unpaid teacher. For forty-four years Brethren were always at hand to serve this mass of rottenness, and remained always abounding in labors, always steadfast to their trying task. No Roman missionary, not even Damien among Hawaiian lepers, not even the Jesuits among the Iroquois, has surpassed this achievement of "Moravian" men and women. When Britain appointed a chaplain of the Anglican order, the missionaries retired sorrowfully, praying earnestly for a blessing on their successor. Among all the "Moravian" missionaries to lepers not one has ever taken the dreadful disease.

II

Results and Criticism

The "Moravians", though just men and righteous, are not spirits made perfect. They have made mistakes. We can point to one church here that has excelled them in influence upon the community at large. We might name another there that surpasses them in the

material and moral results it has produced upon society and the state. In its older fields the Unity has not made effort enough to educate a native pastorate and to train native churches into self-support. Endeavors have indeed been made in both these directions, but they have not been pushed with the full urgency demanded by the best interests of missions. The lapse of a century of continuous work in Cape Colony ought to have secured independence. This holds true of the West Indian missions, — perhaps in greater degree on account of their continuance dating back to 1732, but possibly in less degree in virtue of Denmark not allowing Negro education in her islands till 1841, while even Britain would not permit this before 1830. The native Christians have been too long in pupilage. Churches of native stock should have been produced upon the model offered by the New Testament, fully equipped and obliged to open missions of their own. The Unity has also committed the error of not profiting by just, modern criticism from its friends. It has forgotten the German maxim: Behind the mountains are people, too. It was justified throughout its first century — during the first half of which it was the pioneer, and during the second fifty years the veteran seasoned by thorough experience — in disregarding criticism. But its followers and scholars have since 1832 enriched missionary science with a wealth of results. The Unity might well learn from its own pupils in at least a few respects.

All said, the deductions from the credit due the Unity are the slightest needed for any human organization. Everywhere her sons and daughters have gone to the most abject and degraded races of earth. From the dregs and refuse of humanity they have not seldom evoked spiritual diamonds, jewels that in the crown of

the King sparkle forever. Africa's children are the lowest and meanest of its productions. But not even such diamonds as the Star of the South, if multiplied by infinity, can equal the value of a soul. "Though world on world in myriad myriads roll, . . . what know we greater than the soul? On God and God-like men we build our trust". The "Moravian" has pioneered the humanly hopeless path, and has been the first to demonstrate the African's capacity for true civilization and spiritual Christianity. Through him the man of dark skin, darkened heart and still darker understanding has found the white man not too proud and unkind to be a brother and to make him a brother in Christ. When Diaz told John II of Portugal about the cape of storms and torment amid a weltering waste of waters, the enthusiastic monarch leaped from his throne and exclaimed: "Nay, Cape of Good Hope be thou forever named!" Not by Portuguese crosses, not by Dutch orthodoxy, not by European civilization, but through Brethren's Christliness of life did the Cape of Storms begin to become spiritually a Cape of Good Hope.

Thompson tells beautiful parables in illustration of this phenomenon of the moral world. When the Seven Stars make their annual appearance in the southern skies, parents wake their children, take them to the fields and point out the celestial visitant. All the villagers dance and sing. So the sun of righteousness has shined on the children of sin, and they literally leap for joy. Again, "Moravian" missions stand on the terraced table-land called dry land or *Karoo*. Nine months barren, no sooner do rains fall than the desert-plain clothes itself as by magic with gorgeous flowers and with herbage. So missions have changed the moral aspect of Cape Colony. The dews of heaven are descending, the

wilderness shall be glad for them and the desert shall blossom abundantly.

May we venture beyond Thompson's thought? May we attempt to supplement it by the Apocalypse of St John the Divine?

When in the far spiritual city, in the descending New Jerusalem of heaven's eternal days, the three pearly gates to the south shall open, on harmonious hinges quiring the mellow music of the spheres, deep as the voice of many waters and of mighty thunders yet soft and sweet as distant golden chimes, then from the lands of the Southern Cross, that symbol and seal studded with starry suns in vaults of sapphire, — symbol of God's world-old love for man and seal of His eternal purpose for earth — shall enter into the City of God they who wore the burnished livery of the sun. To Brethren leading the hosts of the redeemed from the isles of the sea and the ends of the earth it shall be given to hear: Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me; enter into the joy of the Lord, good and faithful servants. Gnadenthal shall be known for the holy city of Africa. The nations of Ethiopia that are saved shall walk in her light. Kings of the earth shall bring their glory and honor unto her. The heart of the apostle of Africa, who transformed a den of apes into a valley of divine grace and whose sacred dust ought to rest in the scene of his seeming defeat but true triumph as the heart of Livingstone is embosomed in his beloved Africa, shall rejoice for the travail of his soul.

With stroke upon stroke the laureate who chiseled the character of the Iron Duke unwittingly portrayed the personality of the spiritual hero. Schmid never sold the truth to serve the hour. He never paltered with

eternal God. He let the turbid streams of rumor flow. His life was work. He was the leader in glorious spiritual wars. He cared not to be great but as he served or saved. The path of duty proved his way to glory. He walked it thirsting only for the right. He deadened love of self. Duty was to him not the stern but the dear daughter of the voice of God. Forever he followed her commands. With toil of heart and knee and hand he won his path upward through the long gorge to the far light, and found the toppling crags to be close upon the shining table-lands to which our God Himself is moon and sun.

His work is done. But may we not adapt and vary the eulogy uttered by genius for another, and apply it in a still higher and more spiritual sense?

> While the races of mankind endure,
> Let his great example stand
> Till in all lands and through all human story
> The path of duty be the way to glory!
> And let the land he loved, his name
> For many and many an age proclaim
> With honor, honor, honor, honor to him,
> Eternal honor to his name.
>
> Peace! His triumph shall be sung
> By some yet unmolded tongue
> Far on in summers that we shall not see.
> Whom we see not, we revere.
> We revere, and we refrain
> From brawling memories all too free
> For such a wise humility
> As befits a solemn fane.
>
> We revere, and while we hear, . . .
> Uplifted high in heart and hope are we;
> Until we doubt not that for one so true
> There must be other, nobler work to do
> And victor he must ever be.

He is gone who seemed [not] great ——
Gone; but nothing can bereave him
Of the force he made his own
Being here, and we believe him
Something far advanced in state,
And that he wears a truer crown
Than any wreath that man can weave him.
But speak no more of his renown.
Lay these earthly fancies down.
God accepted, Christ received him.

Sublime as was the spiritual personality of Georg Schmid, some day to be seen by every land, he was but one of many. Behind his life and memory stands the most marvelous church in history. Behind this, in the shadow of the cross, we discern the exalted and uplifting Christ as the single secret of its inspiring power and the sole source of its spiritual force. The Christ, as Livingstone with beautiful fitness pointed out, was the first missionary. The morning-stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy when they first beheld His field. God Himself consecrated His only Son to missions. Under God Zinzendorf inspired an entire communion of servants of the Christ to follow the only model missionary. Hence among the churches of Christendom the Unity of Brethren, humanly speaking, is the Christ.

EXCURSUS

THE UNITY OF BRETHREN AS A SOCIETY FOR MISSIONS

EXCURSUS

THE UNITY OF BRETHREN AS A SOCIETY FOR MISSIONS

Thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah. Matthew

(I) HISTORIC SKETCH. BOHEMIAN PROTESTANTISM BEFORE LUTHER. 1517–1735. ZINZENDORF THE ORGANIZER OF VICTORY. PIETISM. (II) ORGANIZATION AND POLITY. CHURCH-CONSTITUTION. PROVINCES OF THE UNITY. WORSHIP. CHRISTLINESS. COMITY. UNWORLDLINESS. FINANCE. METHODS. SYSTEM. CALIBER OF THE UNITY'S REPRESENTATIVE. STRENGTH IN WEAKNESS.

The *Unitas Fratrum* is the bright and morning star of missions. It is the church of missions. Its membership is one vast mission-order and mission-society. Standing comparatively low in merely alphabetic lists of agents for the evangelization of Africa, it ranks first in time among Protestants and with the first among all Christian churches in the worth of its work. South and west its missionaries were the first Protestants to evangelize heathen Africans. It may be worth while to try to determine whether this church constitutes the ideal, sets the standard, of societies for missions. To appraise aright the missions we have examined, it becomes a historical requirement that we note the origin, nature and methods of this unique church. Every step in the story bears on missions.

I

Historic Sketch

The Unity of Brethren is the spiritual antithesis and complement of Latin Christianity, for neither the Puritan, the Rationalist nor Ritualism embodies and bodies forth the genius of Teutonic Christianity. It is a revival of apostolic and catholic Christianity. Together with the struggle of medieval Christendom through a thousand years for religious reform and tolerance*; with the Albigenses, Lollards, Hussites and Waldensians; with Arnold of Brescia, Kempis and the mystics the Christians of Bohemia and Moravia were reformers before the reformation. They served as a bridge to aid in carrying Christianity across the gulf between the German Roman empire (800 or 962) and Protestantism (1520). Bohemia had for centuries maintained spiritual independence of the Roman see. Its Christianity was Greek in its birth and infancy. Its church was national and Slavic. Through this channel and to this extent the Greek church and the Slav share in the regeneration of Africa†. Not till 1085 did the Latin language and liturgy prevail in the Bohemian church. In the fourteenth century the contest of spontaneous development, independent and national, against absorption and centralization in Rome grew fiercer and hotter. The foundation (1346) of the archbishopric of Prague weakened the Roman influence. The rise (1408) of the German university at Leipzig strengthened the national movement. Nationality and religion produced Hus, a constant student of Wiclif. Not even his martydom (1415)

*See Chapter 4, to which this excursus is complemental.

†The Ethiopic and the Russian church, however, are negotiating relations. Possibly these may result in ultimate union.

nor the crusades against his followers could crush the Bohemian reformation. In 1457 this Catholic Protestantism inaugurated reunion for Christendom. Bohemian, Moravian and Waldensian Christians united formally and organically as a union of brethren. This, to express the oneness of believers and their brotherhood in Christ, styled itself *Unitas Fratrum.* The "Moravian" church, as the Unity is wrongly called, was even more Bohemian than Moravian and possessed Italian members. Its religious thought was that of the Scriptures as interpreted by Hus, Wiclif and Waldo. The church is as catholic in creed and membership as any Christian communion. At an admission of communicants about 1740 an Englishman, a German, a Livonian, a Magyar, a Pole, a Swede and a Swiss united with the Brethren.

The Unity became one of the foundations of the German reformation, but united neither with the Lutheran nor the Presbyterian. Despite a century of papal persecution these Bohemian Protestants in 1517 numbered two hundred thousand, and were active in education, literature and printing as well as evangelization. They kept aloof, however, from secular affairs without direct religious bearing. It is their honor to have been the first to translate the Scriptures from Hebrew and Hellenic into Bohemian. After 1549 they flourished in Poland until 1700 — in Hungary, too — and labored for closer fellowship among Protestants. They succeeded (1570) in effecting an alliance among those of Polish nationality. In 1609 they obtained legal recognition in Bohemia, but became a political party. Within twenty years the Austrian and the Jesuit destroyed the Unity as a visible body. For a century a remnant in hiding kept up the tenets and usages of the fathers, and prayed for the re-

suscitation of their church. Between 1722 and 1730 this passionate spiritual yearning received fulfillment. Bohemian and Moravian brethren settled in Saxony on Zinzendorf's estate, and renewed the organization exactly one hundred years after its dissolution (1622). In 1735 they received their first bishop in the new succession.

If the Unity constitute the Pilgrim Fathers of continental Europe, Herrnhut or Lord-Watch is its Plymouth Rock. The footsteps that make it sublime faced the future. The circumstances of its origin forbade making belief the basis of union. It was not a creed but a life, Christian love even more than Christian faith, that became the vital bond. German Protestants united with the exiled Brethren. Pietism linked itself with the spirituality of the Slav. Zinzendorf welded diverse elements into a union of believers representing Hussite, Lutheran and Presbyterian thought. Himself the grandson of a noble who for conscience's sake had left Austria and wealth, he was a Lutheran pietist; an administrator for the church and a statesman for his country; pastor and poet; and, above all, a missionary. Zinzendorf devoted himself and his property to missions. We must, he declared when banished (1736), collect a congregation of pilgrims, and train laborers to go into the whole world. He viewed the Unity as a society revived by God especially for missions. To attain this object he had persons constantly about him who were under preparation for service. These were occasionally joined by returned foreign missionaries and by home-missionary Brethren. Special attention was paid to the design of the institution. Days, sometimes weeks, were occupied in conferences for enlarging the Christ's kingdom. Zinzendorf stamped his personality upon the renewed and youthful church, made it a society of missions and inaugurated its

work among the heathen. Years before (1710-16) he had met with German missionaries at Halle. To Francke the spiritual Lutheran and to the Halle mission in India was due Zinzendorf's interest in missions. But for Indian missions there might not have been "Moravian" missions. During a visit to Holland Zinzendorf busied himself with inquiries about unevangelized nations. During these years Christian David had turned from Rome to Protestantism, and the breath of heaven was falling upon the Brethren in the Austrian empire. This Moravian became the Moses of a new exodus, the Brethren a missionary-host, and Zinzendorf its Joshua.

The Saxon count was to Protestant missions what Loyola the Spanish knight had been to those of Rome, an organizer of victory. The zeal of Zinzendorf for missions was born before the resurrection of the church of missions. The man of the world may exclaim: "How strange the coincidence!" The spiritual-minded see the finger of God. For ten centuries Bohemian Christianity had been tested and found true. A remnant had returned. Nations had been sifted for the seed of the new church. "Endurance and self-sacrifice, traced into their character like figures in their own beautiful Bohemian glass, were made permanent in the furnace of fiery trails"*. A boy of fifteen had covenanted to establish missions among the heathen, especially among pagans utterly neglected by Christian peoples. Before he called for missionaries, they were prepared. The bitter schooling of persecution gave fitness for the task now in the third quarter of its second century. Severity of discipline imparted the firmness and guilelessness demanded of the missionary. Danish missions, German pietism and the opening of doors conspired to make the

*Thompson: *Moravian Missions*, p. 37.

modern *Unitas Fratrum* a church consecrated to missions from eternity. Through missions it lived and grew. Through missions it helped German orthodoxy to survive rationalism. Through missions it gave occasion for the second conversion of Wesley, the existence of Methodism and the rise of Methodist missions. The *Unitas Fratrum* is the most efficacious and influential missionary organization that ever existed.

II

Organization and Polity

Russell, a British premier, pronounced the constitution of the Unity to be the most skilfully and wisely balanced among those he was acquainted with. The bearing of this observation lies in its application; his acquaintance included, among others, the Anglican and Roman communions. The Unity is Congregational, Episcopalian and Presbyterian in its polity; democratic, aristocratic and representative in its elements. It has ever been free from the connection with the civil government that has been a bane to state-churches, and untainted by any idea of subordinating the state to the church which is the Achilles' heel of Rome. Its avoidance of organic union with Calvinist and Lutheran proved to be a factor in its evolution toward a more ideal type of church than any then existent. The form of government was determined before the adoption of the episcopate. The addition of this element wrought no change in the administration or the seat of power. The episcopate is merely ministerial and spiritual, "nor is the administration of dioceses by bishops admissible". Nevertheless English churchmen accept this episcopate

and its orders as valid. It came from the medieval Austrian Waldenses who claimed apostolic succession and the historic episcopate. It has always continued unbroken, even from 1622 to 1735. The office is defined as "in a peculiar sense that of intercessors". Since such an episcopate represents the entire Unity, bishops can be appointed only by its supreme legislature or by its chief executive. They sit officially in synods, yet this connection with the government of the church is not due to their office. They are almost invariably members and presidents of governing-boards, and generally preside at synods. As such they remain brethren, and this, too, in salary. With the bishops, in whom is vested exclusively the power of ordaining, deacons and presbyters are also associated in the ministry. Though the Unity is the oldest of Protestant churches and its episcopate more ancient than that of the Lutherans and the Anglicans, the Brethren are singularly free from assumption. They give marked precedence to the headship of the Christ over His church. They value succession, not to apostolic primacy, but to apostolic labors, spirit and truth. They do not question the validity of Presbyterian ordination. They formally constitute unordained assistants of their threefold ministry as acolytes.

The Unity divides geographically into the four provinces of America, England, Germany and the West Indies. These are independent and self-governing in local affairs, but one in creed, discipline, ritual and work in foreign fields. The provinces elect synods with executive boards known as conferences of provincial elders. These manage provincial matters. The Unity at large has a general synod, meeting once in ten years at Herrnhut; attended by delegates elected from each province and mission; and electing the department of

missions and that of the Unity. That the administration of the church as a whole is not put on a higher level than the advancement of missions appears from the Unity itself, through its supreme representative, choosing the agents for each activity.

In services and worship missions occupy a larger space than in those of any other communion. To an unwonted extent "Moravian" hymns relate to the coming triumphs of missions. In the liturgy for Sabbath-service occur such petitions as this: Prosper the endeavors of Thy servants to spread the gospel among heathen nations. On the first Monday of each month a meeting of prayer for missions and for study of the fields is held in every province. A prayer-union has issued a daily prayer-book in which are the following supplications: Bless the congregations gathered from the heathen. Own the labors and sustain the courage of our missionaries. Watch over Thy messengers by land and sea. Continue to hold Thy hand over our ship in her voyages amid ice and rocks and storming seas. Teach us to deny ourselves that we may give to Thee, whether from abundance or poverty. May our missionaries adhere firmly to the word of Thy cross, and with all boldness and simplicity preach Christ crucified. Kindle and fan the flame of missionary-spirit. Pour out Thy spirit of grace and supplication on behalf of Thy world-wide work.

The missionaries themselves wait habitually for pointings from Providence. They purpose not to run before being sent. Though filled with fervor, they are free from the bane of fanaticism with its wild and wandering bale-fires, phantoms of a false morning dawning into darkness. Once sent, however, they trust with rare implicitness. Is it casual or causal connection with this practice that of twenty-five hundred missionaries since

1732 less than fifty, less than two *per cent.*, have died from accident or violence?

Like the Pilgrim Fathers and the Puritans the Unity has on the whole maintained that adhesion to a creed is not enough. Purity of life is the test of discipleship, personal piety a condition for church-membership. On these points the Brethren were greatly in advance of other reformers. They escaped the evils suffered still by state-churches in Europe and by colonial churches in America before the Revolution (1776). Their piety is cheerful and childlike, their creed simple and Scriptural. Luther confessed that no church has been nearer the apostolic spirit than the Brethren. Thompson avows that the renewed church also deserves praise for exemplary living. No religious denomination has maintained a moral and social character more unimpeachable. Thompson could not learn that either capital crime or divorce has ever been known among "Moravians".

The genius of the Unity and its missions finds utterance in the petition of the liturgy: From the unhappy desire of becoming great, preserve us. The Brethren have never desired great denominational increase. Non-extension is a principle. Proselytism from other churches has not been chargeable upon them. They observe comity. They will not build upon other men's foundations. Their missionaries are enjoined never to enter upon controversy, and always to guard against proselyting. They adhere to the principle that "in efforts for the conversion of the heathen we will not aim at a large number nominally brought to Christ". Like other missionaries the "Moravians" find it no easy task to secure genuine conversion and holy living. This is specially the case where concubinage has prevailed; still more,

where missioners baptize illegitimate children and allow standing as Christians to the parents.

On the other hand, "Moravian" missionaries find an advantage in modeling missions, so far as circumstances permit, upon the settlements in the provinces. Zinzendorf made the Brethren a peculiar people. He did not allow them to expand. He founded exclusive towns. These communities largely repeat the communism of the apostolic church, though with modifications. None but a church-member owned land. The Unity controlled not only spiritual concerns but industrial pursuits. Such towns fostered the missionary spirit, and developed piety of high type. To-day the system of separation prevails only in the Antilles, Germany and the missions. Although it has undergone modifications that point to eventual abolition, its essential features are still maintained. According to age, sex and social standing the membership is divided into classes. At the head of each stands an elder or a deaconess, charged with the spiritual interests. Every settlement has a separate house for unmarried men, unmarried women and widows. Each supplies its inmates with comfortable homes at moderate charges. The bachelors carry on trades. The maids maintain themselves by women's work. The inmates are not bound by vows, but leave at will. Each house has a secular and a spiritual overseer. The settlement has its general financial and municipal interests directed by a board of overseers with a warden for president. Its religious affairs are seen to by a conference of elders, over whom the senior pastor presides. These internal regulations are the same for every mission, but the external ones vary. Among free heathen most of the converts live together in settlements, enjoying the advantages for progress in religious knowledge and civil-

ization. In missions among slaves regulation was impossible.

The advantages and disadvantages of these institutions are evident. They create real and visible unity between the center and the remotest races or regions of the world-parish. They aid in making the Unity the only Protestant church that stands as an organic unit throughout the world. They cradle and stay the convert from heathenism. But they incur the risk of keeping him a child.

The Unity professed at the beginning that no community can be so small, no individual so poor, as not to be bound to give Christianity to those who never heard it. Grandly have the Brethren reduced this principle to practice, and redeemed their pledge. The idea of evangelism had in 1732 become as dominant as in the Scriptures. Nor did this evangelistic zeal prove a mere effervescence. It was prophetically symbolized in the motto and seal. On crimson ground a lamb bears the cross. From this hangs a triumphal banner with the Latin inscription: Our Lamb has conquered; Him let us follow. The Unity is the ox between altar and plow, ready for sacrifice or for service. Missionary thought grew from more to more in the life. It developed into a great constituent of character and conduct. So deeply lodged is the duty of evangelization that foreign service is voluntary. Any person desirous of becoming a missionary makes the wish known to the directors. If, after being informed of the dangers and difficulties, resolution remain fixed, the applicant receives acceptance as a candidate. Should reluctance be eventually felt, full liberty remains to decline. Urging is needless. The churches are colleges of missions. Promptitude in accepting calls to missions is habitual. Zinzendorf once asked a

Brother whether he would go to Greenland on the morrow. The man had received no intimation. He replied: If the shoemaker can finish my boots, I will. Missions have been the soul of this church. They are conspicuous in every plan and movement, the staple of "Moravian" literature. Through missions the Unity grew from six hundred to sixty thousand members, sixty thousand adherents of missions and one hundred thousand converts in societies within the state-churches of Europe*. The mission-fund rose from three dollars to a hundred thousand times that sum. The possibilities of paucity and poverty have been demonstrated. Had all churches for two and a half centuries been as devoted and enterprising as this little sister who has done what she could and filled the household of faith with fragrance, not one soul among the myriad millions of earth would to-day be beyond reach of missionaries.

A glance at missionary finance should close this study of methods and organization, and enable us to gauge the history and worth of "Moravian" work among African peoples. Should we find slight results numerically, we need feel no chagrin at such an outcome for one hundred and sixty-two years of effort. Quality, not quantity, forms the "Moravian" standard of success.

There was [1894] no permanent fund for missions, but an enormous bequest was received in 1897, which, if memory serve the present writer, may become such. Voluntary collections from congregations at stated times and by the many mission-societies of children, young men and women support them. The chief "Moravian" societies are the London Society (1741), the Zeist Society (Holland, 1793), the Slesvig Union (Denmark, 1843),

*These are not proselytes to the Unity, but are evangelized by it, remaining members of their respective churches.

the Bethlehem Society (Pennsylvania, 1787) and the Wachovia Society (Salem, North Carolina, 1823).

The annual cost of the mission-provinces is contributed from these sources: the membership of the home-provinces; funded legacies of which only the interest is available; annual grants from associations; earnings of missionaries; contributions by converts and their missionary societies; traffic and trade; and individual donations from non-"Moravians". Some of the missionary-associations in Christian countries consist of minor or secondary "Moravian" societies in each of the provinces, but most of them are composed of members of other churches. The oldest and most helpful of these is the London Association. Founded in 1817, it has a hundred auxiliaries and branches. In these fourscore years it has aided the missions of the Unity to the amount of nearly two million dollars, and is contributing twenty-five thousand dollars annually. The Dutch of Guiana in 1828 established their *Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge among the Negroes of Surinam.* Denmark swung into line still later with a society whose chief object was to assist the Unity in the Danish West Indies. During 1848-52 the Unity's annual income averaged $60,430.40. Since then it has risen to $300,000. The extent of the field renders it almost unaccountable that the Unity was able to maintain it with so slight an expenditure. The missions have, however, been conducted so far as practicable on the self-sustaining principle. They are settlements containing artizans and farmers who live on land belonging to the station, and contribute by their labor to its support. With so small a body and slender means such methods were a necessity between 1732 and 1832. The wealth now in possession of Christianity makes it the depth of injustice

to send men at their own charges among the heathen. It would also be the poorest economy to allow missionaries to labor for their living. The contributions of the converts and their societies amounted in 1882 probably to $100,000; but if the eight provinces of the West Indian field have become a home-province, independent and self-governing, the native contributions of the remaining eight mission-provinces amount to but half of their former sum. The change is symptomatic only of gain and growth. Of the income from commerce, handicrafts and husbandry merely a part can be included in indigenous self-support. There are lay missionaries who devote themselves to secular matters, yet aid in evangelization. This union of mercantile with missionary agency is carefully guarded against abuse.

The working-methods include preaching; house-to-house visitation; receiving visits from the heathen; homely talks on religious subjects; and the administration of advice, comfort or reproof. The missionaries, without instructing the heathen in natural religion, at once declare that the crucified Christ is the sole salvation. This they have found to be the most efficacious means of converting the pagan. No religious truth fails of inculcation, but with simple and saving sense the "Moravian" missionary refrains from teaching the doctrine of the trinity until the pupil has learned to count three. The constant aim is to humble the natural man, exalt the God-Man and promote holiness. Converts are divided into four classes: applicants for religious instruction; candidates for baptism; baptized adults; and communicants. The first consists of heathen who are thinking on spiritual matters and desire instruction. They are included among catechumens, and called new people. If they remain steadfast in their desire for baptism, they

are considered candidates for the rite. After instruction respecting this sacrament, they receive baptism. If their after conduct proves that they have received grace, they become candidates for communion and are allowed to be present as spectators. In due time such baptized adults are admitted into full membership as communicants. Separate meetings are held with each class and with such divisions of the church as children; single men; single women; married people; widows and widowers. Assistants are chosen, especially when the converts are numerous, consisting of native men and women whose character, capacity and conduct enforce respect. Particular districts are assigned to them. They visit the folk in their homes, minister to the feeble, poor or sick, and promote harmony. Occasionally they are employed to hold meetings on week-days or to preach at out-stations. At stated times the assistants confer with the missionaries. Only rarely is a council of representatives elected by the church to discuss and decide the general welfare. Such a system is admirably adapted to build up pure, steadfast, stalwart Christians out of heathens from the sties of paganism or the slums of civilization; but its tendency must be to keep them children. In both respects this proved to be especially the case with the Negro.

The missionaries are men and women of ability, consecration, education, fine spirit, practical nature, sagacity and wisdom. Hallbeck in South Africa was classed among men of highly respectable literary attainments. The great majority are artizans or farmers. None may engage in business on his own account. None who carries on business for a mission may share the profits. Though missionaries possessing property are not expected to support themselves, luxuries must be procured only

through private means. All gladly follow the apostles in ministering with their own hands to their necessities. To them as to the monks of old labor is a consecrated part of life and the right arm of prayer. Dress and food and house are inexpensive, are nearer the manners and means of the flock than those of some other missionaries. Degradation in the pagan, distance and inaccessibility in the field are not published from "Moravian" housetops as singular or wonderful. The spectacular is allowed no place. The Unity believes it a grievous mistake to portray missionaries as confessors or martyrs before they have begun to bear witness. Candidates depart without illusion or romance, in soberness and unostentation. Few failures in Christian standing have occurred; and no falls. No missionaries give reports so free from exaggeration, or report unwelcome truth with so little suppression. Children are sent home when about eight years old, and educated at the expense of the church. The missionaries themselves rightly receive pensions on retiring from service. When invited to labor among colonists, they have neither faltered nor flinched in devotion to the barbarian. Though tedious toil and patience passing measure have always proved requisite, impatience for results has never manifested itself.

Such is the church, such the missionaries, that led into lands forsaken by godly men and seemingly forsaken by God. Not by an army nor by power, said the Lord of Hosts, but by My Spirit and the weak things of this world will I confound the strong. Although Protestant missions existed in 1732, these enterprises had been undertaken in connection with colonization. The Unity was the first Protestant church to go among the heathen with no purpose except to save souls.

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